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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

DURING THE LAST FOUR CENTURIES

BY

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

VOL. III

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APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS USED, WITH SUPPLEMENTARY EXTRACTS AND CRITICAL REMARKS

SECTION I

FIRST PERIOD, TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

No. 1

Ad S. D^m^ Nostrum Pontificem Maximum Nicolaum V conformatio curie romane loquentis edita per E. S. oratorem Joseph. B. doctorem cum humili semper recommendatione. (1453.) [The Address of the Roman Curia to his Holiness, Pope Nicholas V, set forth and presented by Doctor Joseph B., Orator of the Holy Church.] Vatican Library, No. 3618.

A LAMENT over the well-known conspiracy of Stephen Porcari, which, although not presenting any more minute details concerning it, yet places before us certain important circumstances explanatory of the general position of things; it gives intimation, for example, of the principal object proposed to himself by Nicholas V in his architectural undertakings.

> "Arces fortificat muris turrimque superbam
> Extruit . . . ne quisque tyrannus ab alma
> Quemque armis valeat papam depellere Roma."

Previous popes had frequently been compelled to quit their capital. Nicholas built that he might be prepared to defend himself against all assailants, whether from within or from without. There is further exhibited in this document the condition of Rome as compared with that of other Italian cities.

> "Si tu perquiris in omnibus illam [libertatem]
> Urbibus Italiae, nullam mihi crede profecto
> Invenies urbem quae sic majore per omnem
> Libertate modum quam nunc tua Roma fruatur.

Omnis enim urbs dominis et bello et pace coacta
Praestita magna suis durasque gravata gabellas
Solvit, et interdum propriam desperat habere
Justitiam, atque ferox violentia civibus ipsis
Saepe fit, ut populus varie vexatus ab illis
Fasce sub hoc onerum pauper de divite fiat ;
At tua Roma sacro nec praestita nec similem vim
Nec grave vectigal nec pondera cogitur ulla
Solvere pontifici ni humiles minimasque gabellas :
Praeterea hic dominus tribuit justissimus almam
Justitiam cuicunque suam, violentaque nulli
Infert : hic populum prisco de paupere ditem
Efficit, et placida Romam cum pace gubernat."

The author reproaches the Romans for labouring to attain the freedom of ancient Rome. It is indeed established beyond a doubt that the papal rule was milder than that of any other Italian government; and the knowledge of this fact contributed largely to the territorial extension of the States of the Church. Our author considers it unpardonable that the citizens should oppose resistance to that Church from which they obtained so many benefits both spiritual and temporal.

" Quibus *auri copia grandis*
Argentique ferax, aeternaque vita salusque
Provenit, ut nulli data gratia tam ardua genti."

The pope is advised to provide still more effectually for his safety, to increase his fortifications, and never to go to St. Peter's without a guard of 300 armed men; he is, at the same time, recommended to aim at securing the affections of the Roman people, and to support the poor, more particularly those of good descent, "vitam qui mendicare rubescunt ;"

" Succurre volentibus artes
Exercere bonas, quibus inclyta Roma nitescat ;"

which was indeed a counsel scarcely needed by Nicholas V. This little work is moreover referred to in the "Vita Nicolai V a Domenico Georgio conscripta, Romae, 1742," p. 130.

No. 2

Instructiones datae a Sixto IV RR. PP. D^nis J. de Agnellis protonotario apostolico et Ant^o de Frassis S. palatii causarum auditori ad M. Imperatoris. 1 *Dec^is* 1478. [Instructions given by Sixtus IV to the nuncios sent to the Emperor, etc.] Bibl. Altieri, VII. G. 1. 90.

The oldest Instruction that I have found among the MSS. that have come under my observation. It begins thus—"Primo salutabunt Serenissimum Imperatorem."

The attack of the Pazzi on the Medici had taken place on the 26th of April, 1478. All Italy was thrown into commotion by this outrage. "Ecclesia justa causa contra Laurentium mota, clamant Veneti, clamat tota ista liga."

The ambassadors were instructed to prevent the emperor from giving credence to a certain Giacopo de Medio, whom the Venetians had sent as their emissary to the imperial court. "Est magnus fabricator et Cretensis: multa enim referebat suis, quae nunquam cogitaveramus neque dixeramus." They were to request the mediation of the emperor: the king of France had already offered his intervention, but the pope preferred to reserve the honour of that office to the emperor. "Velit scribere regi Franciae et ligae isti, ostendendo quod non recte faciunt et parum existimant Deum et honorem pontificis, et quod debent magis favere ecclesiae justitiam habenti quam uni mercatori, qui semper magna causa fuit quod non potuerunt omnia confici contra Turcum quae intendebamus parare, et fuit semper petra scandali in ecclesia Dei et tota Italia."

This affair was all the more perilous for the pope from the fact that a purpose was entertained of opposing his temporal assumptions by means of a council. "Petunt cum rege Franciae concilium in Galliis celebrari in dedecus nostrum."

We are hereby reminded of the attempt that was in fact made some years later to convoke a council, and by which the archbishop of Carniola acquired a certain reputation. Johann von Müller has given a few pages to this subject in the 5th vol. of his History of Switzerland (p. 286),

but he does not make the secular motives by which the advocates of this demand for a council were actuated sufficiently obvious. Cardinal Andreas was not altogether so spiritual as Müller's work would make him appear. The ambassadors of Florence and Milan sought the cardinal in Basle, presenting themselves in the name of the entire league, which had taken the field against Sixtus. They found in him —we have their own report—great experience and knowledge of the world ("gran pratica et experientia del mundo"), together with a vehement hatred to the pope and his nephew. "E huomo per fare ogni cosa purche e' tuffi el papa e 'l conte." [He is a man capable of doing anything, provided he can but ruin the pope and the count.] See Baccius Ugolinus Laurentio Medici in Basilea a dì 20 Sept. 1482, in Fabroni Vita Laurentii, ii. 229. We here perceive that the spiritual opposition of the princes was undertaken from purely secular motives. They also possessed spiritual weapons, and these they brought into action against those of the pope.

No. 3

Relatione fatta in pregadi per Polo Capello el cavalier venuto orator di Roma, 1500, 28 *Sett.* [Report presented to the Venetian Senate by Polo Capello, regarding his embassy to Rome.] In the Archives of Vienna.

This is the first report that I have found on the papal court by a Venetian ambassador. It does not appear in the Venetian archives; and it may be inferred that the reports were not at that time presented in writing. It is given in the Chronicle of Sanuto, in which may be usually found whatever was transacted in the senate (or pregadi).

Polo Capello promises to treat on four subjects: the cardinals, the relations or dispositions of the pope towards the king of France and towards Venice respectively; the intentions (el desiderio) of his holiness, and what they might expect from him; but as this division of his subject was not founded on any very accurate distinctions, he does not rigidly adhere to it.

He remarks in the first place, that neither Venice nor

France was in particular favour with the pope; the former, because, having seized on a part of the Milanese territory, fears were entertained lest the remainder of Italy should be also attacked; the latter, because the king of France did not keep his promises to the pope. In this document we find the conditions of the treaty formed in the year 1498 between the king and the pope. The pope granted the king a dispensation permitting him to separate from his wife. In return, the king engaged to confer a domain on Caesar Borgia, the pope's son, that should yield him a revenue of 28 000 francs, a wife of the blood-royal (Navarre?), and the renunciation of all attempts on Naples, except in aid of the Borgia family ("del regno di Napoli non se impazzar se non in ajutar il papa"); whence we perceive that the pope had himself, even at that time, designs on Naples. But these promises were not kept. The matrimonial alliance proposed to Caesar Borgia was not exactly what had been desired. The pope went so far as to purchase an estate of 12,000 francs, as a security for the dowry, but the young bride remained in France. It was only by the superior force of the king that the pope was held to peace. "Quando il S^r Lodovico intrò in Milan," says Capello very significantly, "publice diceva (il papa) mal del roy." [When S^r Ludovico entered Milan, the pope publicly spoke ill of the king.] Alexander was enraged because the French would not give him aid for the expulsion of Bentivoglio from Bologna.

This report, in common with all those which are taken from the Chronicle of Sanuto, has been printed in the Florentine collection of Venetian Reports, vol. vii., 1846; and I should have abbreviated or omitted my extracts from it, but for the fact that the copy of Sanuto at Venice from which the reprint was made, presents some differences from the original which I used at Vienna. Thus in the sentence just given "il re Ludovico" is printed, and "di lui" instead of "del roy." In this case, "il re" is opposed to the sense and makes the whole passage unintelligible.

Not only does the report give an insight into the inner workings of the papal policy of those days, but it is also valuable for its personal descriptions.

The author first alludes to the death of Alexander's

son-in-law. Caesar Borgia had already wounded him. "By way of precaution he sent to Naples for physicians: the wounded man was ill thirty-three days, and Cardinal Capua received his confession; he was nursed by his wife and sister, who was married to the prince of Squillaci, another son of the pope; they remained with him, and prepared his food in a small vessel with their own hands, for fear of poison, because of the hatred felt towards him by the duke of Valentinos, the pope causing him to be guarded lest that duke should kill him; and when the pope went to visit the sick man, the duke did not accompany him, once only excepted, and then he said, 'What has not been done at dinner shall be done at supper.' Accordingly, one day,—it was the 17th of August,—he entered the room, the patient having already risen, and made the wife and sister go out; then Michiele came in, as if called, and strangled the said youth."

"The pope loves his son the duke, but is in great dread of him; he is twenty-seven years of age, remarkably handsome, very tall and well made, even exceeding King Ferandin" (Ferdinand, the last king of Naples, that is, who was considered extremely handsome). "He killed six wild bulls, fighting with the spear on horseback, and in regard to one, he struck off his head at one blow, which seemed a prodigy to all Rome; he has most regal habits and spends very largely, for which the pope is displeased with him. Besides this, he slew M. Peroto at another time under the very mantle of the pope, so that the blood burst over the face of the pope; which M. Peroto was a favourite of the pontiff. He also murdered his brother, the duke of Gandia, and caused the body to be thrown into the Tiber. All Rome trembles at this duke, and every one fears assassination from him."

Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X, has endeavoured to clear the memory of Lucrezia Borgia from the scandalous imputations heaped upon her. To the accusations brought against her earlier life, he has opposed a crowd of favourable witnesses respecting the latter part of it. But even the German translator of his work is not convinced by his arguments, believing rather that Lucrezia had amended her conduct. The report we are now examining is, however, further remarkable, because it affords a favourable testimony

to the character of Lucrezia, even in her earlier days; its words are—"Lucrezia la qual è savia e liberal" [Lucrezia who is wise and generous]. Caesar Borgia was rather her enemy than her lover. He despoiled her of Sermoneta, which had been granted to her by the pope, remarking that she was but a woman, and would not be able to defend it: "è donna, non lo potrà mantenir."

No. 4

Among the various documents to be found in the fifth volume of Sanuto, the following appears to be the most important.

"*This is the manner in which Pope Alexander VI came to his death.*

"The cardinal datary D^no^ Arian da Corneto, having received a gracious intimation that the pontiff, together with the duke of Valentinos, designed to come and sup with him in his vineyard, and that his holiness would bring the supper with him, the cardinal suspected that this determination had been taken for the purpose of destroying his life by poison, to the end that the duke might have his riches and appointments, the rather as he knew that the pope had resolved to put him to death by some means, with a view to seizing his property, as I have said—which was very great. Considering of the means by which he might save himself, he could see but one hope of safety—he sent in good time to the pope's carver, with whom he had a certain intimacy, desiring that he would come to speak with him; who, when he had come to the said cardinal, was taken by him into a secret place, where, they two being retired, the cardinal shewed the carver a sum, prepared beforehand, of 10,000 ducats, in gold, which the said cardinal persuaded the carver to accept as a gift and to keep for the love of him, and after many words, they were at length accepted, the cardinal offering, moreover, all the rest of his wealth, at his command—for he was a very rich cardinal—for he said he could not keep the said riches by any other means than through the said carver's aid, and declared to him 'You know of a certainty what

the nature of the pope is, and I know that he has resolved, with the duke of Valentinos, to procure my death by poison, through your hand,'—wherefore he besought the carver to take pity on him and to give him his life. And having said this, the carver declared to him the manner in which it was ordered that the poison should be given to him at the supper, but being moved to compassion he promised to preserve his life. Now the orders were that the carver should present three boxes of sweetmeats, in tablets or lozenges, after the supper, one to the pope, one to the said cardinal, and another to the duke, and in that for the cardinal there was poison; and thus being told, the said cardinal gave directions to the aforesaid carver in what manner he should serve them, so as to cause that the poisoned box of confect which was to be for the cardinal, should be placed before the pope that he might eat thereof, and so poison himself and die. And the pope being come accordingly with the aforesaid duke to supper on the day appointed, the aforesaid cardinal threw himself at his feet, kissing them and embracing them closely; then he entreated his holiness with the most affectionate words, saying, he would never rise from those feet until his holiness had granted him a favour. Being questioned by the pontiff what this favour was, and requested to rise up, he would first have the grace he demanded, and the promise of his holiness to grant it. Now after much persuasion the pope remained sufficiently astonished, seeing the perseverance of the said cardinal and that he would not rise, and promised to grant the favour. Then the cardinal rose up and said, 'Holy Father, it is not fitting that when the master comes to the house of his servant, the servant should eat with his master like an equal (confrezer parimente),' and therefore the grace that he demanded was the just and honest one that he, the servant, should wait at the table of his master, and this favour the pope granted him. Then having come to supper, and the time for serving the confectionery having arrived, the carver put the poisoned sweetmeats into the box, according to the first order given to him by the pope, and the cardinal, being well informed as to which box had no poison, tasted of that one, and put the poisoned confect before the pope. Then

his holiness, trusting to his carver and seeing the cardinal tasting, judged that no poison was there, and ate of it heartily; while of the other, which the pope thought was poisoned, but which was not, the said cardinal ate. Now at the hour accustomed, according to the quality of that poison, his holiness began to feel its effect, and so died thereof: but the said cardinal, who was yet much afraid, having physicked himself and vomited, took no harm and escaped, though not without difficulty. Farewell."

This account, if not an authentic one, is at least a very remarkable description of Alexander's death, and is, perhaps, the best we have relating to that occurrence.

No. 5

Sommario de la relatione di S. Polo Capello, venuto orator di Roma, fatta in Collegio 1510. [Summary of Polo Capello's report of his embassy to Rome, delivered to the College 1510.]

After the great misfortunes suffered by the Venetians in consequence of the league of Cambray, they soon contrived to win over Pope Julius II again to their side. Polo Capello brings forward certain details hitherto unknown, in regard to the manner in which this result was produced. The pope was anxious in respect to the consequences that might ensue from a meeting then projected between Maximilian and the king of France. "Dubitando perche fo ditto il re di Romani et il re di Francia si voleano abboccar insieme et era certo in suo danno." It is true that for a certain time he enforced on the Venetians the necessity of resigning those towns which, according to the terms of the league, should have fallen to the emperor; but when he saw that the enterprise of Maximilian came to so bad a conclusion, he ceased to press further on that matter. The pontiff held a very mean opinion of Maximilian: "E una bestia," said he; "merita piu presto esser rezudo ch' a rezer altri." [He is a stupid animal, and rather deserves to be bridled himself than to bridle others.] It was considered on the contrary

very greatly to the honour of the Venetians, whose name had been looked upon in Rome as already extinguished, that they had stood their ground. The pope gradually determined to grant them absolution.

Capello entertained the most profound respect for the personal qualities of the pontiff. "E papa sapientissimo, e niun pol intrinsechamente con lui, e si conseja con pochi, imo con niuno." [He is a very wise pope; he permits no one to influence his judgment, and takes counsel with few, or indeed with none.] The influence possessed by Cardinal Castel de Rio was but a very indirect one. "Parlando al papa dirà una cosa, qual dita il papa poi considererà aquella." [When in conversation with the pope, he will make some remark, which being uttered, the pope will afterwards consider it over.] At that moment, for example, the cardinal was opposed to the Venetians, yet the pontiff concluded his agreement with them none the less. Capello considered him to be well supplied with money, thinking he might have 700,000 ducats, if not a million, in his treasury.

No. 6

Sommario di la relatione di Domenego Trivixan, venuto orator di Roma, in pregadi 1510. [Summary of Domenego Trivixan's report of his embassy to Rome, presented in the Senate 1510.]

The report given by Capello in the college is continued by Trivixan to the senate, but with this difference, that while the former develops the concealed motives of action, the latter contents himself with giving a general sketch: this also is, nevertheless, worthy of notice.

He agrees with the estimation of his colleague of the moneys to be found in the papal treasury, but adds the remark that this sum was destined by the pope to be used in a war against the infidels. "Il papa è sagaze praticho: ha mal vecchio galico e gota, tamen è prosperoso, fa gran fadicha: niun poi con lui: alde tutti, ma fa quello li par.—E tenuto e di la bocha e di altro per voler viver piu

moderatamente." [The pope is a man of great practical sagacity, but has long suffered from disease of the liver and gout; he is, nevertheless, still active, and endures labour well; he permits none to govern him, listening to all, but doing what best pleases himself. He is held, both by word and otherwise, to resolve on living more moderately.] I understand that it was believed that he would be more moderate in eating and drinking, as well as in every other respect. From the Venetian copy the words are printed thus: "è ritenuto della bocca e di altro."—"A modo di haver quanti danari il vole: perche come vacha un beneficio, non li da si non a chi (ha) officio e quel officio da a un altro, si che tocca per esso assai danari; ed è divenudo li officii sensari piu del solito in Roma." [He has a method of procuring whatever money he pleases: for whenever a benefice falls vacant he confers it only on one who already has an office, which office he also confers on some other, so that by this means he draws a sufficiency of money; and offices have become more than commonly venial in Rome.] That is, the offices that men actually hold have become brokers or procurers for other benefices. For the reading of the other copy, "sul vender gli uffici ci sono sensali," seems to be merely an arbitrary alteration due to misunderstanding.

"Il papa a entrado, duc. 200,000 di ordinario, et extraordinario si dice 150 m." [The ordinary revenue of the pope is 200,000 ducats, and the extraordinary is said to be 150,000.] That is, the popes have usually so much,—"Ma questo ha di do terzi piu di extraordinario, e di ordinario ancora l'entrade" [but this pope has two-thirds more, both of the ordinary and extraordinary revenue]; so that he must have had about a million. He proceeds to explain this as follows:—"Soleano pagare il censo carlini X al ducato e la chiesa era ingannata: era carlini XIII½ el duc. vole paghino quello convien, et a fatto una stampa nova che val X el duc. e son boni di arzento, del che amiora da X a XIII½ la intrada del papa, e diti carlini si chiamano Juli." [It was customary to pay the taxes at the rate of ten carlini to the ducat; but the Church was hereby defrauded, for the ducat was worth thirteen carlini and a half; then the pope determined that a just payment should be made,

and he has issued a new coinage, the value being ten pieces to the ducat, and these are of good silver. The pope's revenues are improved from ten to thirteen and a half, and the said new carlini are called Juli.] We here see what was the origin of the small coins current in the present day, for it was not until recent times that the paoli now in use have superseded the name and use of the Juli. The carlini, by which accounts were computed and which were the common medium of exchange, had become so much debased and depreciated that the treasury sustained a serious loss by them. It was thus for the interest of his exchequer that Julius II issued a good coinage.

"Item è misero: a pocha spesa. Si accorda col suo maestro di caxa: li dà el mexe per le spexe duc. 1,500 e non piu. Item fa la chiexia di S. Piero di novo, cosa bellissima, per la qual a posto certa cruciata, et un solo frate di S. Francesco di quello habia racolto ditti frati per il mondo li portò in una bota duc. 27,000 si che per questo tocca quanti danari el vuol. A data a questa fabrica una parte de l'intrada di S. M. di Loreto e tolto parte del vescovado di Recanati." [Item, he is penurious and spends little; he makes an agreement with his house-steward, to whom he gives 1,500 ducats for the expenses of the month, and no more. Item, he is building the church of St. Peter anew, a very beautiful thing it is, and for this he has established a sort of crusade, and a single Franciscan friar brought him, in one sum, 27,000 ducats, which those friars had gathered throughout the world. He has, besides, given to this fabric a portion of the revenues of Santa Maria di Loreto, and has taken for the same purpose a part of the bishopric of Recanati.]

No. 7

Sommario de la relatione di S. Marin Zorzi, dotor, venuto orator di corte, fata in pregadi a dì 17 *Marzo,* 1517. [Summary of Doctor Marin Zorzi's report of his embassy to the court of Rome, etc.]

Marin Zorzi was chosen ambassador to the court of

Leo X on the 4th of January, 1514, and, after he had declined the office, was again elected to it on the 25th of January. If it be true that his commission had particular reference to the expedition of Francis I, as we learn from Paruta (lib. iii. p. 109), it must have been about the beginning of the year 1515 that he first proceeded to Rome.

His report refers to that period. It is the more important because he proposed to give information in this document in regard to matters on which he had not ventured to write while in Rome. "Referirà," says the summary, which appears to have been written subsequently, "di quelle cose che non a scritto per sue lettere, perchè *multa occurrunt quae non sunt scribenda*."

These are chiefly in relation to the negotiations of the pope with Francis I, which were not known even to Paruta himself, and of which the best information, so far as my knowledge extends, will be found in this document.

Allusions are occasionally made by different writers to a supposed desire on the part of Pope Leo for a crown to be conferred on his brother Giuliano, but how this was to be effected has never yet been made clearly apparent. Zorzi assures us, that at this time Leo proposed to the king of France—"that with regard to the kingdom of Naples, it would be well to take it from the hands of the Spaniards and give it to the most noble Giuliano, his brother." He adds: "and about this affair he gave himself no little pains, for he was not content that his brother should be a duke, but resolved to make him king of Naples. The most Christian king would have given him the principality of Taranto, with other territories; but the pope was not satisfied with that. Whereupon there came divers ambassadors to the pope; Mons^{r} di Soglei and Mons^{r} di Borsi among others; and the pope said,—'If the king will consent to this arrangement, then we will be for his majesty.' And here these matters came to a pause; the most Christian king, desiring that the pope should not be against him, determined to proceed to Italy in great force; and so he did, but the pope suddenly leagued himself with the emperor, the Catholic king, the king of England, and the Swiss."

The letters of Canossa, printed in the "Archivio Storico Italiano," in the year 1844, declare that this project was seriously discussed; but it will be manifest that the affair was not so entirely unmentioned by "domestic and foreign historians" as the editor imagined.

The notices given by Zorzi in relation to the time of the campaign, I have already communicated, either in the text or in the notes.

But how strongly the pope was in secret opposed to the French, is rendered manifest by the fact that he not only reproached the Venetians for the decided part they took in favour of the French, during Maximilian's enterprise of the following year, but also by the further proof of his having secretly assisted Maximilian himself: "O che materia," he remarked, "a fatto questo senato a lassar le vostre gente andar a Milano, andar con Francesi, aver passa 8 fiumi, o che pericolo è questo" [Oh what a business this senate has made of it, to let your people go to Milan, to permit your troops to join the French, and cross eight rivers in their cause—Oh what a danger is this!]; and further: "Il papa a questo subito mandò zente in favor del imperador e sotto man dicendo: M. Ant. Colonna è libero capitano a soldo del imperador." [Thereupon the pope suddenly despatched troops to the assistance of the emperor, but underhand, and saying that Marc Antonio Colonna was a free captain in the pay of the emperor.] The ratification of the treaty of Bologna was meanwhile delayed. The king sent ambassador after ambassador to demand its completion. At length the pope on his part despatched his emissary to France, and the treaty was sealed.

Francis I soon found an opportunity to avenge himself. The pope encountered unexpected opposition from the duke of Urbino. In relation to which the Venetian ambassador here assures us that, "il re non si tien satisfacto del papa: è contento Francesco Maria prosperi" [the king does not consider himself well treated by the pope, and is desirous that Francesco Maria should succeed].

He then gives a more minute description of the pope. "A qualche egritudine interior de repletion (the Venetian copy has 'anteriore di risoluzione') e catarro ed altra

cosa, non licet dir, videl. in fistula. E hom da ben è liberal molto, non vorria faticha si'l potesse far di mancho, ma per questi soi si tuo faticha. E ben suo nepote è astuto e apto a far cosse non come Valentino ma pocho mancho." [He is disturbed by some inward complaint arising from repletion, catarrh, and other causes which we do not enumerate. He is a worthy man, and very liberal; not willing to give himself much labour, if he can avoid it, but he exerts himself readily for the sake of his kinsmen. As to his nephew, he is shrewd enough, and gives himself no little license—not as did Valentino, but yet little less.] He alludes to Lorenzo de' Medici, and he asserts positively what others (*e.g.* Vettori) have denied, that Lorenzo himself had eagerly striven to possess himself of Urbino. Giuliano is reported to have entreated the pope only two days before his (Giuliano's) death, that he would spare Urbino, where he had been received and sheltered so kindly after his expulsion from Florence, but the pope would not listen to him: he replied,—"Non è da parlar deste cose" [This is no time to be talking of these matters]; and this he did because, "de altra parte Lorenzin li era attorno in volerli tuor lo stato" [on the other side, Lorenzo was pressing him to take possession of the duchy].

Among the advisers of the pope, he first alludes to Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII, whose talents he does not estimate so highly as others have done. "He is a good man, but of no great ability, although the principal management of the court is at this time in his hands. He was formerly at the court of Portugal." He next speaks of Bibbiena, whom he considers to be in the interests of Spain, because he had been enriched by Spanish benefices; and lastly he mentions Lorenzo, "qual a animo gaiardo" [an active spirit].

The name of Lorenzo leads him to speak of Florence. He says a few words in regard to the constitution, but adds, —"At this time all order is disregarded: what he (Lorenzo) wills, that is done. Yet Florence is rather disposed towards the French than otherwise; and the party opposed to the Medici cannot make an alteration, although this state of things does not please them." The militia and regular troops had been partially disbanded. The revenues consisted, first, of the duties paid at the gates and in the city, which

amounted to 74,000 ducats; secondly, of the sums drawn from the towns tributary to Florence, amounting to 120,000 ducats; and thirdly, of the *balzello*, a direct impost and sort of tithe, producing 160,000 ducats.

This brings him to the revenues of the pope, which he estimates to be altogether about 420,000 ducats; and he then returns to the expenditure and personal qualities of the pontiff. "He is learned in classic literature and the canon law, and above all is a most excellent musician; when he sings with any one, he causes that person to be given 100 ducats, or more; and, to mention a circumstance previously forgotten (by him, the ambassador), the pope derives from vacancies some 60,000 ducats, or more, annually, which is about 8000[1] ducats per month; and this he expends in gifts, and in playing at primero, a game in which he delights greatly."

These examples suffice to shew the lively and graphic character of Zorzi's report: it is given with infinite simplicity, and in an easy conversational style, so that the reader seems to hear and see all that the author describes.

No. 8

Summary of the Report of Marco Minio, returned from the Court (of Rome), June, 1520. Sanuto, vol. 28.

Marco Minio was the successor of Zorzi, but his report is unfortunately very short.

He begins with the revenues, which he finds to be inconsiderable. "The pope has but a small income from the papacy, and the revenues are of three kinds: first, the annates, from which he derives 100,000 ducats annually; but of the consistorial annates, which are drawn from the bishopries and abbacies, the one half belongs to the cardinals: from the various offices he draws about 60,000; and from compositions 60,000 ducats a year. He has no ready money, because he is very liberal, and cannot keep money; and, moreover, the Florentines and his relations

[1] So says the copy, but it cannot possibly be right,

will never permit him to retain a penny; and the said Florentines are greatly detested at court, because they thrust themselves into every thing. The pope remains neutral between France and Spain; but he, the speaker, considers the pope to be inclined towards Spain, because he was restored to his native city by Spain, and even owes to the Spaniards his elevation to the papacy. Cardinal de' Medici, his nephew, who is not of legitimate birth, has great influence with the pope; he is a man of much practical ability.—(We perceive from this remark, that the cardinal's reputation had increased since the time of Zorzi.) He possesses great authority, yet he does nothing of importance without first consulting the pope: he is now at Florence, where he holds the government of the city. Cardinal Bibbiena is also in considerable esteem with the pope, but this Medici does every thing."

The ambassador assures his countrymen that the sentiments of the pope are tolerably favourable towards them (the Venetians). He did not certainly desire to see Venice greater than she was, but would not permit the republic to be destroyed for any advantage in the world.

No. 9

Diary of Sebastiano de Branca de Telini. Barberini Library, No. 1103.

This diary is comprised in sixty-three leaves, and extends from the 22nd of April, 1494, to 1513, in the time of Leo X. It is certainly not to be compared to Burcardus; and since very little of what was passing was known to the writer of it, we cannot use it even for the rectification of that author's observations. Branca de Telini saw nothing more than was seen by all the world.

Thus he describes the entrance of Charles VIII, whose army he estimates at from 30,000 to 40,000 men. He considers Charles himself to be the most ill-looking man he had ever beheld; but his people, on the contrary, he thought the handsomest in the world: "la piu bella gente non fu vista mai." Telini must not be taken literally; he is fond

of expressing himself in this manner. He relates that a man had paid as much as 300 ducats for a horse.

Caesar Borgia was the most cruel man that ever lived. The times of Alexander were marked and distinguished by atrocities, famines, and exorbitant imposts. "Pope Alexander ordered the whole revenues of all the priests, and all the public officers, and all the churches both within and without Rome, to be set aside for three years, for the purpose of a crusade against the Turks, and then he gave the total amount to his son for the more effectual prosecution of the war." According to Branca, Caesar Borgia gave audience to no one but his executioner Michilotto. All his servants went richly clothed: "dressed in brocade of gold and silver even to their stockings; their slippers and shoes were made of the same."

Telini was a great admirer of Julius II. "Non lo fece mai papa quello che have fatto papa Julio." [Never did any pope so much as has been done by Pope Julius.] He enumerates the cities that he subdued, but is of opinion that by his wars he had rendered himself guilty of the death of 10,000 men.

Next came Leo: he began with promises, "that the Romans should be free from imposts, and that all offices and benefices within the city of Rome should be conferred exclusively on Romans: all which occasioned great rejoicings throughout Rome."

Our diarist occasionally brings forward individuals in private life; and we are here made acquainted with the boldest and most renowned of procurators. "Ben^to Moccaro, il piu terribile uomo (the most powerful, most violent), che mai fusse stato in Roma per un huomo privato in Roma." He lost his life by means of the Orsini.

Even in this, otherwise unimportant work, we see the spirit of the times and of the several administrations reflected as in a mirror. We have the times of terror, of conquest, and of tranquillity, as exhibited under Alexander, Julius, and Leo, respectively. Other diaries, on the contrary, that of Cola Colleine for example, extending from 1521 to 1561, contain nothing whatever of importance.

No. 10

Vita Leonis X Pontificis Maximi per Franciscum Novellum Romanum, J. V. Professorem. Barberini Library.

"Alii (says the author) longe melius et haec et alia mihi incognita referre, et describere poterunt." Without doubt they could; his little work is altogether insignificant.

No. 11

Quaedam historica quae ad notitiam temporum pertinent pontificatuum Leonis X, Adriani VI, Clementis VII. Ex libris notariorum sub iisdem pontificibus. [Certain historical notices pertaining to the pontificates of Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII, taken from the books of the notaries under the said pontiffs.] Extracted by Felix Contellorius. Barberini Library. 48 leaves.

Short notices of the contents of the instruments; as, for example, "Leo X assignat Contessinae de Medicis de Rudolfis ejus sorori duc. 285 auri de camera ex introitibus dohanarum pecudum persolvendos."

I have occasionally made use of these notices. Perhaps the most interesting and remarkable, as having hitherto remained without mention, is the following extract from a brief of the 11th of June, 1529:—Certain valuables belonging to the papal see had been given in pledge to Bernardo Bracchi, and at the time of the sacking of the city Bracchi thought it advisable to bury them in a garden. He confided the place of their concealment to one man only, a certain Geronimo Bacato of Florence, to whom he told it, to the end that some one might be able to point it out in case of any mischance befalling himself. Some short time after this confidence was made, Bernardo Bracchi was seized by the Germans and grievously maltreated; Geronimo then, believing that his friend had died under the torture, imparted

the secret in his turn to one sole person, and from a similar motive. But this man was not so discreet: the Germans heard of the concealed treasure, and by renewed and more severe tortures they compelled Bracchi at length to disclose the place of its deposit. To save the valuables, Bracchi entered into an obligation to pay the sum of 10,000 ducats; but Geronimo considered himself as a traitor, and killed himself from shame and rage.

No. 12

Sommario di la relation fatta in pregadi per S. Aluixe Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma, 1523, *Marzo.* [Summary of Aluise Gradenigo's report of his embassy to Rome, etc.] In Sanuto, vol. 34.

He first speaks of the city, which he declares to have increased in a short time by about 10,000 houses: next he proceeds to the constitution. Of the conservators he reports, that they claimed precedence of the ambassadors, who refused to allow the claim; with regard to the cardinals, he says that Giulio de' Medici had risen still higher in reputation; he calls him, "hom di summa autorità e richo cardinale, era il primo appresso Leon, hom di gran ingegno e cuor: il papa (Leone) feva quello lui voleva" [a man of the highest authority and a very rich cardinal, he ranked before all with Pope Leo, a man of great powers and high spirit: the pope (Leo) did whatever he desired to have done]. He describes Leo X as "di statura grandissima, testa molto grossa, havea bellissima man: bellissimo parlador: prometea assa, ma non atendea. . . . Il papa si serviva molto con dimandar danari al imprestido, vendeva poi li officii, impegnava zoie, raze del papato e fino li apostoli per aver danaro" [of very lofty stature, with a very large head and a most beautiful hand: he was an admirable speaker, and made great promises, but did not keep them. The pope had very frequent recourse to borrowing money; he then sold the different offices, pledged the jewels and

valuables of the papacy, and even the apostles, to procure himself money]. He estimates the temporal revenues at 300,000 ducats; the ecclesiastical at 100,000.

He considers the policy of Leo to have been decidedly adverse to France. If at any time it seemed otherwise, the pope was only dissembling. "Fenzeva esso amico del re di Francia." But at the time to which our report refers, he was openly and avowedly opposed to France, the cause of which, according to Gradenigo, was that, "disse che M^r di Lutrech et M^r de l'Escu havia ditto che 'l voleva che le recchia del papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona." Does this mean that he desired to have nothing remaining of the pope but his ears? Certainly a very coarse jest, and in extremely bad taste. Leo took it very ill. On receiving intelligence of the conquest of Milan, he is related to have said, that this was but the half of the battle.

Leo left the papal treasury so completely exhausted, that it was found needful to employ for his obsequies the wax candles that had been provided for those of Cardinal S. Giorgio, who had died a short time before him.

The ambassador awaited the arrival of Adrian VI. He describes the moderate and regular habits of that pontiff's life, and remarks, that he had at first maintained a strict neutrality between the two great parties. "It is said that the pope, as regards his own opinion, is neutral, although he is dependent on the emperor, and has it much at heart to effect a truce, that he may the better attend to the affair of the Turks. These things are inferred from his daily proceedings, as well as from the discontent of the viceroy of Naples, who repaired to Rome in the hope of prevailing on the pontiff to declare himself for the emperor; but his holiness refused to do so; whence the viceroy departed without arriving at his ends. The pope is deeply intent on the affairs of Hungary, and desires that an expedition should be set on foot against the infidels. He is afraid that the Turk may effect a descent upon Rome, and is therefore anxious to see the Christian princes united, and to make universal peace, or, at the least, a truce for three years."

No. 13

Summario del viazo di oratori nostri andorno a Roma a dar la obedientia a papa Hadriano VI. [Summary of the journey of our ambassadors to Rome to tender allegiance to Pope Adrian VI.]

This is the only report which possesses the interest of a traveller's description, and which also alludes to subjects connected with art.

The ambassadors describe the flourishing state of Ancona, and the fertility of the March. In Spello they were hospitably received by Orazio Baglione, and proceeded thence to Rome.

They also describe an entertainment given to them by Cardinal Cornelio, a fellow-countryman. The account they give of the music they heard while at table is worthy of notice: "A la tavola vennero ogni sorte de musici, che in Roma si atrovava, li pifari excellenti di continuo sonorono, ma eravi clavicembani con voce dentro mirabilissima, liuti e quatro violoni." [There were brought to the table every kind of musician to be found in Rome: excellent flute-players performed continually; there were harpsichords producing most wonderful tones, with lutes and four violins.] Grimani also invited them to a feast. "Poi disnar venneno alcuni musici, tra li quali una donna brutissima che cantò in liuto mirabilmente." [Then at dinner there were musicians, and among them a most ill-favoured woman, who sang to the lute most admirably.]

They next visited the churches; at that of Santa Croce certain ornaments were in course of preparation for the doors: "Alcuni arnesi e volte di alcune porte di una preda raccolta delle anticaglie." Every little stone that was being wrought there deserved, in their opinion, to be set in gold and worn on the finger. They next proceed to the Pantheon, and there an altar was in process of erection, at the foot of which was the grave of Raphael. They were shewn decorations, apparently of gold, looking as pure as that of the Rhenish gulden; but they were of opinion that if the gold

had been real, Pope Leo would not have permitted it to remain there. They express their admiration of the columns —larger than their own in St. Mark's. "Sostengono un coperto in colmo, el qual è di alcune travi di metallo." [They support the roof, which is a dome, and is formed by certain beams of metal.]

They give themselves up, with infinite simplicity, to their admiration of the Roman antiquities. I know not whether this book will fall into the hands of antiquaries. The following description of the colossal statues in the Quirinal (on Monte Cavallo) is, at least, very striking. "Monte Cavallo is so called, because, on the summit of the hill, which is very well peopled, there is a certain structure, formed of a piece of very rough wall (a rude pedestal), on one of the angles of which there is a horse of stone—apparently Istrian —very ancient and corroded by time, and on the other corner is another horse, both of them modelled from the middle forwards, the head, neck, fore-feet, shoulders, and half the back; beside them stand two great giants, men double the natural size, naked, and each holding back one of these horses with one arm. The figures are very beautiful, finely proportioned, and of the same stone as the horses; and the horses are also beautiful,—equally so with the men: under one of them are inscribed the words 'Opus Phidiae,' and under the other 'Opus Praxitelis,' both inscriptions being in handsome capital letters." The ambassadors then visit the Capitol, where they find, among many other beautiful statues, "a peasant in bronze, drawing a thorn from his foot, made in the natural rustic manner; to those who look at him he seems to be lamenting the pain of the thorn—a work of absolute excellence." They next proceed to the Belvedere, where they admire above all things the Laocoon. The German landsknechts have hitherto been charged with having rendered it necessary to restore an arm to this masterpiece of art, but we here find that the arm had disappeared before the sack of the city. "Ogni cosa è integra, salvoche al Laocoonte gli manca il brazzo destro." (So also in the copy, p. 116.) They are in an ecstasy of admiration, and declare of the whole group that "it wants nothing but life." They describe the boys extremely well:

"One of them is labouring with his little arm to free his leg from the fierce serpent; but finding that he cannot help himself, is turning his weeping face imploringly towards his father, whose left arm he holds with his other hand. A different sorrow is perceived in each of these boys; the one is grieving for the death that he sees so near him, the other because his father can give him no help, but is himself suffering and his strength failing." They add the remark that King Francis I had requested the gift of this noble work from the pope, when they met at Bologna; but his holiness would not consent to rob his Belvedere of the original, and was having a copy made for the king. They tell us that the boys were already finished, but that if the maestro lived five hundred years and laboured a hundred at his copy, it would never attain the perfection of the original. In the Belvedere they also found a young Flemish artist, who had executed two statues of the pope.

They next inform us of the pope and of his court. The most important fact they communicate is, that the cardinal of Volterra, who had previously been able to repress the Medici, had been arrested and was held in prison, because letters of his had been seized, wherein he exhorted King Francis to venture an attack on Italy at that moment, seeing that he could never hope to find a more favourable opportunity. This enabled Cardinal de' Medici to rise again, and the imperial ambassador Sessa supported him. The change in Adrian's policy may very probably have been determined by this incident.

No. 14

Clementis VII P. M. conclave et creatio. Barberini Library, No. 4, 70 leaves.

We find the following remark on the title-page:—"Hoc conclave sapit stylum Joh. Bapt. Sangae, civis Romani, qui fuit Clementi VII ab epistolis." But this opinion may be rejected without hesitation. Another MS. in the Barberini Library, bearing the title, "Vianesii Albergati Bononiensis

commentarii rerum sui temporis," contains nothing but this conclave. It forms the first part of his "Commentaries," of which there is no continuation to be found. We may assume, therefore, that the author of the above-mentioned conclave was Vianesio Albergati.

But who was this author? Mazzuchelli names many Albergati, but not this one.

In a letter of Girolamo Negro, we find the following anecdote. A native of Bologna caused information to be given to Pope Adrian VI, that he, the Bolognese, had an important secret to communicate to his holiness, but had no money to defray the cost of his journey to Rome. Messer Vianesio, a friend and favourite of the Medici, made interest for him, and at length the pope told him he might advance the twenty-four ducats required by the Bolognese for his journey, which should be returned to him. Vianesio did so; his man arrived, and was brought into the palace with the utmost secrecy. "Holy Father," said he, "if you would conquer the Turks, you must prepare a vast armament both by land and sea." This was all he had to say. "Per Deum!" exclaimed the pope, whom this greatly irritated, the next time he saw Messer Vianesio, "this Bolognese of yours is a great cheat; but it shall be at your cost that he has deceived me;" and he never returned the twenty four ducats expended by Vianesio. This Albergati is in all probability the author of the Conclave in question; for in the little work before us he says that he had acted as intermediary between the Medici and the pope—"Me etiam internuntio." He was well acquainted with Adrian, whom he had previously known in Spain.

He has, nevertheless, erected to the memory of this pontiff the most inglorious monument that can well be conceived. His remarks serve to shew us the extent and depth of the hatred which Adrian had awakened among the Italians. "Si ipsius avaritiam, crudelitatem, et principatus administrandi inscitiam considerabimus, barbarorumque quos secum adduxerat asperam feramque naturam, merito inter pessimos pontifices referendus est." He is not ashamed to repeat the most contemptible lampoons on the departed pontiff. One, for example, where Adrian is first

compared to an ass, then to a wolf: "post paulo faciem induit lupi acrem;" nay, finally, even to Caracalla and Nero. But if we ask for proofs of this imputed worthlessness, we find the ill-used pontiff fully justified, even by what Vianesio himself relates.

Adrian VI had a room in the Torre Borgia, the key of which he always kept in his own possession, and which those around him named the "Sanctum Sanctorum." This room was eagerly examined on the death of the pontiff. As he had received much and spent nothing, it was supposed that his treasures would be found in this chamber; but the sole contents were books and papers, with a few rings of Leo X, and scarcely any money. It was then at last admitted, "male partis optime usum fuisse."

The complaints of this author as to the delays interposed in public business may be better founded. It was Adrian's habit to say, "cogitabimus, videbimus." It is true that he referred the applicant to his secretary; but after long delays, this officer also referred him to the auditor of the treasury, who was indeed a well-intentioned man, but one who could never bring any matter to a close, bewildering himself by an excessive, but ill-directed activity. "Nimia ei nocebat diligentia." The applicant returned once more to Adrian, who repeated his "cogitabimus, videbimus."

But in proportion with his abuse of Adrian is the eulogy he bestows on the Medici and Pope Leo X. His goodness, the security enjoyed under his government, and even his architectural labours are all lauded in turn.

From the remarks of Albergati, I conclude that the Arazzi of Raphael were originally designed for the Sistine Chapel. "Quod quidem sacellum Julius II opera Michaelis Angeli pingendi sculpendique scientia clarissimi admirabili exornavit pictura, quo opere nullum absolutius extare aetate nostra plerique judicant; moxque Leo X ingenio Raphaelis Urbinatis architecti et pictoris celeberrimi auleis auro purpuraque intextis insignivit, quae absolutissimi operis pulchritudine omnium oculos tenent."

No. 15

Instruttione al Card^l Rev^mo di Farnese, che fu poi Paul III, quando andò legato all' Imp^re Carlo V doppo il sacco di Roma. [Instruction to the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III, when he went as legate to the Emperor Charles V after the sack of Rome.]

I first found this Instruction in the Corsini Library, No. 467, and afterwards obtained a copy in the handwriting of the middle of the sixteenth century.

This document was known to Pallavicini, who refers to it in his "Istoria del Concilio di Trento," lib. ii. c. 13; but the following chapters make it obvious that he has not made so much use of it as his words would imply; he has taken his narrative from other sources.

These instructions are highly important, not only as regards the affairs of the papacy, but also concerning the whole of European politics at a most momentous period. They also contain many weighty particulars not to be found elsewhere. I therefore thought it advisable, in the early editions of this work, to print the document in full. Since then, however, it has been printed in the "Papiers d'état du Cardinal Granvelle" (vol. i. pp. 280–310)—a collection which no student of the history of this period can neglect: I have therefore not considered it necessary to reprint it, and content myself with repeating the introductory remarks on the origin and contents of the Instruction.

In June, 1526, the pope had issued a brief, wherein he succinctly enumerated all the points on which he felt aggrieved by the emperor. To this the emperor made a very animated reply, in September, 1526. The state-paper which appeared at the time under the title "Pro divo Carolo V . . . apologetici libri" (see Goldast, Politica Imperialia, p. 984), contains a circumstantial refutation of the pope's assertions. The instruction before us is connected with these papers. It consists of two parts: one in which the pope is spoken of in the third person, probably composed by Giberto, or some other confidential minister of the pontiff, and of the

utmost importance in relation to past events, both under Leo and Clement: the second is much shorter, and begins with the words "Per non entrare in le cause per le quali fummo costretti" (Papiers d'état, p. 303); and here the pope speaks in the first person: it was therefore most probably drawn up by himself. Both are prepared with a view to the justification of the measures taken by the Roman court, and are calculated to place the proceedings of the viceroy of Naples, on the other hand, in the worst possible light. It would, without doubt, be inadvisable to trust them to the letter on each separate point, for we occasionally find misrepresentation of facts. It would be desirable to know what was the reply of the imperial court to the charges here made. Yet, in general, not only the papal policy, but also a considerable part of that of Spain, is elucidated by this document. We find, for example, that even so early as the year 1525, there were some thoughts of annexing Portugal to Spain.

No. 16

Sommario dell' Istoria d'Italia dall' anno 1512 *insino a* 1527. *Scritto da Francesco Vettori.* [Summary of the history of Italy, from 1512 to 1527; written by Francesco Vettori.]

This is a very remarkable little work, by a sensible man, the friend of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, and one intimately acquainted with the affairs of the house of Medici, as well as with those of the Italian peninsula in general. I found it in the Corsini library in Rome, but could only take extracts; I should otherwise have requested permission to get it printed, which it well deserves to be.

The plague of 1527 drove Vettori from Florence, and it was at his villa that he wrote this review of the most recent events.

His attention is directed principally to Florentine affairs: in opinion he approximates closely to those of his friends above mentioned. In treating of the modes of government

adopted in his native city by the Medici, in the year 1512, which were such that every thing was in the hands of Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X, he says, "Si ridusse la città, che non si facea se non quanto volea il card[l] de' Medici." [The city was reduced to this, that nothing could be done there, excepting only what it pleased Cardinal de' Medici to do.] He adds, that this was called tyranny, but that he for his part knew no state, whether principality or republic, wherein there was not something tyrannical. "Tutte quelle republiche e principati de' quali io ho cognitione per historia o che io ho veduto mi pare che sentino della tirannide." The example of France or of Venice may be objected to him; but in France the nobles held the preponderance in the state and monopolized the church patronage. In Venice 3000 men were seen to rule, and not always justly, over 100,000: between the king and the tyrant there is no other difference than this, that an upright governor deserves to be called a king, a bad one merits the name of tyrant.

Notwithstanding the intimate terms on which he stood with both the popes of the house of Medici, he is far from being convinced of the Christian character of the papal power. "Whoever will carefully consider the law of the gospel will perceive that the pontiffs, although they bear the name of Christ's vicar, yet have brought in a new religion which has nothing of Christ but the name: for whereas Christ enjoins poverty, they desire riches; while he commands humility, they will have pride; and where he requires obedience, they are resolved to command all the world." It will be manifest that this worldliness of character, and its opposition to the spiritual principle, contributed largely to prepare the way for Protestantism.

The election of Leo is attributed by Vettori above all else to the opinion entertained of his good nature. Two terrible popes had preceded him, and people had had enough of them. Medici was chosen. "Havea saputo in modo simulare che era tenuto di ottimi costumi." [He had known so well how to dissemble, that he was considered a man of excellent moral conduct.] The person who took the most active part in his election was Bibbiena, who knew the

inclinations of all the cardinals, and managed to win them over even in opposition to their own interests. "Condusse fuori del conclave alcuni di loro a promettere, e nel conclave a consentire a detta elettione contra tutte le ragioni."

The expedition of Francis I in the year 1515, with the deportment of Leo during that campaign, are admirably described by Vettori. That no more unfortunate consequences resulted from it to the pope he attributes principally to the clever management of Tricarico, who entered the French camp at the moment when the king was mounting his horse to oppose the Swiss at Marignano, and who afterwards conducted the negotiations with the utmost prudence.

Then follow the revolt of Urbino. I have already described the reasons alleged by Vettori on the part of Leo.[1] "Leone disse, che se non privava il duca della stato, el quale si era condotto con lui e preso danari et in su l'ardore della guerra era convenuto con li nemici nè pensato che era suo subdito nè ad altro, che non sarebbe sì piccolo barone che non ardisse di fare il medesimo o peggio: e che havendo trovato il ponteficato in riputatione lo voleva mantenere. Et in verità volendo vivere i pontefici come sono vivuti da molte diecine d'anni in qua, il papa non poteva lasciare il delitto del duca impunito."

Vettori composed, besides, a life of Lorenzo de' Medici. He praises him more than any other writer has done, and places his administration of the Florentine government in a new and peculiar light. That biography and the summary we are now considering complete and explain each other.

He treats, also, of the election of the emperor, which fell within that period, affirming that Leo assisted the efforts of the king of France only because he was previously convinced that the Germans would not elect him. The calculation of Leo, according to Vettori, was that Francis I, in order to prevent the election of Charles, would give his interest to some German prince. I find the unexpected declaration, which I do not, indeed, desire to have implicitly accepted, that the king really did at length endeavour to secure the

[1] See vol i. p. 66.

election of Joachim of Brandenburg. "Il re . . . haveva volto il favore suo al marchese di Brandenburg, uno delli electori, et era contento che li danari prometteva a quelli electori che eleggevano lui, dargli a quelli che eleggevano dicto marchese." It is certain that the conduct of Joachim, on the occasion of that election, was very extraordinary. The whole history of this occurrence—strangely misrepresented, both intentionally and unintentionally—well merits to receive, once for all, a satisfactory elucidation.[1]

The treaty of Leo with the emperor Charles was considered by Vettori to have been imprudent beyond all comprehension. "La mala fortuna di Italia lo indusse a fare quello che nessuno uomo prudente avrebbe facto." He lays the blame of this more particularly on the persuasions of Geronimo Adorno. Of the natural considerations by which the house of Medici was influenced he does not choose to speak.

Of Pope Leo's death he relates certain of those particulars which I have adopted (in the text). He does not believe him to have been poisoned. "Fu detto che morì di veneno, e questo quasi sempre si dice delli uomini grandi e maxime quando muojono di malattie acute." [It was said that he died of poison; and this is almost always said of great men, more especially when they die of acute diseases.] He is of opinion that there was more cause for surprise at Leo's having lived so long.

He confirms the assertion that Adrian refused, in the first instance, to do any thing against the French; it was only after receiving a pressing letter from the emperor that he agreed to contribute some little aid towards opposing them.

It would lead us too far if we were here to adduce all the remarks made in this work with relation to the subsequent course of events; it is nevertheless remarkable and worthy of attention, even in cases where the author does but express his own opinion. In these, as we have said, he makes a near approach to Machiavelli, and has an equally bad opinion of mankind. "Quasi tutti gli uomini sono

[1] I have since endeavoured, in my German History, to approach nearer to the truth.—*Note to the second edition.*

adulatori e dicono volontieri quello che piaccia agli uomini grandi, benche sentino altrimenti nel cuore." [Almost all men are flatterers, and are ever ready to say what is likely to please great men, even though they may think very differently in their hearts.] He declares the violation of the treaty of Madrid by Francis I to have been the best and most noble action that had been performed for many centuries. "Francesco," he says, "face una cosa molto conveniente, a promettere assai con animo di non observare, per potersi trovare a difendere la patria sua." [Francis did a very proper and suitable thing in making large promises without any purpose of fulfilling them, that he might put himself in a condition to defend his country.] A mode of thinking worthy of the "Principe."

But Vettori proves himself to have had a kindred spirit in other respects with the great authors of that age. The work before us is full of originality and talent, and is rendered all the more attractive by its brevity. The author speaks only of what he actually knows, but that is of great importance. It would require a more circumstantial examination than we have given to do him justice.

No. 17

Sommario di la relatione di S. Marco Foscari, venuto orator del sommo pontefice a dì 2 Marzo, 1526. [Summary of the report of Marco Foscari's embassy to the pope, etc.] In Sanuto, vol. 41.

Marco Foscari was one of the ambassadors who proceeded to Rome to offer allegiance to Pope Adrian VI. He appears to have remained in Rome from that time until 1526.

He treats, to a certain extent, of the times of Adrian; but his remarks in relation to Clement VII are all the more important from the fact that, in consequence of the close connection existing in those days between Venice and the pope, he had uninterrupted and animated intercourse with that pontiff.

He thus describes Clement: "A prudent and wise man, but slow to resolve, and thence it is that he is irresolute and changeable in his proceedings. He reasons well, and sees every thing, but is very timid. In matters of state, no one is permitted to influence him; he hears all, but then does what he thinks most fitting. He is a just man, a man of God; and in the segnatura, which is composed of three cardinals and three referendaries, he will never do any thing to the prejudice of others, and when he signs any petition he never revokes what he has granted, as Pope Leo used to do. This pontiff does not sell benefices, nor bestow them simoniacally. When he gives benefices, he does not take offices in their place that he may sell them, as Pope Leo and other popes have done, but will have every thing proceed regularly and legally. He does not squander the revenue or give it in presents, nor does he take from others; hence he is reputed to be parsimonious. There is, likewise, some dissatisfaction in Rome on account of Cardinal Armellino, who has devised many expedients for raising money and has imposed new duties, even taxing those who bring thrushes and other eatables into Rome. . . . He is extremely continent, and is not known to indulge in any kind of luxury or pleasure. . . . He will have no jesters, comedians, or musicians; nor does he hunt. His only amusement is the conversation of engineers, with whom he talks about waterworks and such matters."

He next speaks of the pope's advisers. He would not permit his nephew to exercise any power; even Giberto had very little influence in state affairs. "Il papa lo alde, ma poi fa al suo modo." [The pope hears him, but then proceeds in his own manner.] He considers that Giberto—"devoto e savio"—is favourable to the French, but that Schomberg—"libero nel suo parlar"—was disposed to the imperialists. The emperor had a firm adherent also in Zuan Foietta, who was less frequently in attendance on the pope from the time that Clement had formed his league with France. Foscari alludes also to the two secretaries of the pope, Giacopo Salviati and Francesco Vizardini (Guicciardini); he considers the latter the more able man, but quite in the French interest.

It is worthy of remark, that the pope was not on much better terms with the French than with the imperialists. He perceived clearly what he had to expect at their hands. He felt himself to be truly allied with Venice alone. "Conosce, se non era la Signoria nostra, saria ruinada e caza di Roma." [He knows that if it were not for our Signory, he would be ruined and hunted out of Rome.]

Rome and Venice maintained and fortified each other in their efforts for Italian interests, and considered their honour to consist in upholding them. The pope was proud of having prevented Venice from coming to an understanding with the emperor. Our ambassador, on the other hand, directly asserts that it was himself (Foscari) by whom Italy had been made free. He tells us that Clement had already determined to acknowledge Bourbon as duke of Milan, but that he had so earnestly dissuaded him from doing so, as at length to prevail on him, and he changed his purpose.

He affirms that the pope would grant the emperor the dispensation needful for his marriage only on certain conditions; but that the emperor had contrived to obtain it without these conditions.

There is a certain peculiarity to be remarked in respect to this "Relatione." When the ambassadors were directed at a later period to prepare and present their reports in writing, Marco Foscari did so as well as the others, but we are instantly struck by the fact that the second relation is infinitely feebler than the first. The latter was written immediately after the occurrences described in it, and while all was fresh in the recollection of the writer; but so many important events took place afterwards, that the recollection of the earlier facts had become faint and obscure. We learn from this how much we are indebted to the diligence of the indefatigable Sanuto. This is the last report, of which my knowledge is derived from his chronicle. There follow others which were preserved in private copies revised by their authors.

No. 18

Relatione riferita nel consiglio de pregadi per il clarissimo Gaspar Contarini, ritornato ambasciatore del papa Clemente VII e dal imp^re^ Carlo V, Marzo, 1530. [Gaspar Contarini's report of his embassy to Clement VII, and the emperor Charles V, etc.] Informationi Politiche, 25. Berlin Library.

This is the same Gaspar Contarini of whom we have had occasion to speak so highly in our history.

After having been already engaged in an embassy to Charles V (his report of which is extremely rare—I have seen one copy of it only in the Albani palace in Rome), he was chosen as ambassador to the pope in 1528 before the latter had returned to Rome, after so many misfortunes and so long an absence. Contarini accompanied the pontiff from Viterbo to Rome, and from Rome to the coronation of the emperor at Bologna. In the latter city he took part in the negotiations.

Of all that he witnessed in Viterbo, Rome, and Bologna, he here gives a relation, to which we have but one objection, namely, that his narrative is so extremely brief.

The embassy of Contarini took place at the important period when the pope was gradually becoming disposed again to enter into such an alliance with the emperor as had formerly been concluded between that monarch and the Medici. The ambassador very soon remarks with astonishment, that the pope, notwithstanding the grievous injuries and offences he had received from the imperialists, was yet more inclined to give his confidence to them than to the allies, a disposition in which he was confirmed principally by Musettola; "huomo," says Contarini, "ingegnoso e di valore assai, ma di lingua e di audacia maggiore." While the fortune of war remained undecided, the pope would come to no resolution; but when the French were defeated and the imperialists gradually evinced a readiness to resign the fortresses they had occupied, he no longer hesitated. In the spring of 1529, the pope was already on good terms with the emperor, and in June they concluded their treaty,

the conditions of which Contarini could not obtain sight of without great difficulty.

Contarini also describes the persons with whom he acted.

The pope was rather tall, and was well formed. He had at that time scarcely recovered from the effects of so many misfortunes and from a severe illness. "He is neither affected by strong attachment nor violent hatred," says Contarini; "he is choleric, but restrains himself so powerfully that none would suspect him of being so. He is certainly desirous of relieving those evils by which the Church is oppressed, but does not adopt any effectual measures for that purpose. With regard to his inclinations, it is not easy to form a positive opinion: it appeared for some time that he took the matter of Florence somewhat to heart, yet he now suffers an imperial army to march against the city."

Contarini remarks that many changes had been made in the ministry of Clement VII.

The datary Giberto always retained a larger share than any other person of his master's confidence; but after the measures adopted under his administration had resulted in so disastrous an issue, he retired of his own accord, and thenceforward devoted himself to his bishopric of Verona. Niccolò Schomberg, on the contrary, after an embassy on which he had been sent to Naples, had returned to take active part in the most important affairs. Contarini considers him to lean greatly to the imperialists, a man of good understanding and beneficent habits, but violent withal. Giacopo Salviati had also great influence, and was at that time still believed to be in the interests of France.

Although this paper is very short, it nevertheless supplies us with much instructive matter.

No. 19

Instructio data Caesari a rev^mo Campeggio in dieta Augustana, 1530. [Instruction given to the emperor by the most reverend Cardinal Campeggio at the diet of Augsburg, 1530.] MS. Rome.

Up to this time political affairs have been treated as most

important, but ecclesiastical matters now gradually obtain the larger share of attention. At the very beginning of this document we meet with that sanguinary proposal for the reduction of Protestantism of which I have previously spoken; it is here even called an "Instruction."

The cardinal remarks, that in conformity with the position he holds and with the commission of the Apostolic See, he would proceed to set forth the measures which, according to his judgment, ought to be adopted.

He describes the state of affairs in the following manner: "In certain parts of Germany, all the Christian rites which were given to us by the ancient holy fathers have been abrogated in accordance with the suggestions of these scoundrels; the sacraments are no longer administered, vows are not observed, marriages are contracted irregularly, and within the degrees prohibited by the laws," &c. &c., for it would be superfluous to transcribe this *capucinade*.

He reminds the emperor that "this sect" would not procure him any increase of power, as he had been promised; and assures him of his own spiritual aid in the event of his adopting the counsels suggested. "And I, if there shall be need, will pursue them with ecclesiastical censures and penalties, omitting nothing that it may be needful to do. I will deprive the beneficed heretics of their benefices, and will separate them by excommunications from the Catholic flock. Your highness also, with your just and awful imperial ban, will subject them to such and so horrible an extermination, that either they shall be constrained to return to the holy Catholic faith, or shall be utterly ruined and despoiled both of goods and life. And if any there be, which God forbid, who shall obstinately persevere in that diabolical course, . . . your majesty will then take fire and sword in hand, and will radically extirpate these noxious and venomous weeds."

To the kings of England and France, also, Campeggio proposes the confiscation of all property held by heretics.

He generally keeps his attention fixed, however, on the affairs of Germany; and shews how it was believed that the

articles of the treaty of Barcelona, to which he continually recurs, might be interpreted. "It will be well and to the purpose, that when this magnificent and Catholic undertaking shall have been put firmly and directly on its way, there should be chosen, some few days after, efficient and holy inquisitors, who, with the utmost diligence and assiduity, should go about seeking and inquiring if there be any, quod absit, who persist in these diabolical and heretical opinions, nor will by any means abandon them, . . . in which case they shall be castigated and punished according to the rule and practice observed in Spain with regard to the Moors."

In Wilh. Maurenbrecher: "Karl V und die deutschen Protestanten" (App. No. 1) the report of Campeggio is given in full from the Archives of Simancas. I notice a few slight differences; *e.g.* in the Spanish transcript, instead of "assiduità," as in the Italian version, "desterità" is urged on the Inquisition. Such variations always occur.

Happily all were not of Campeggio's opinion; nor indeed do such schemes appear frequently in the documents that we have examined.

No. 20

Diariorum cerimonialium Masii Baronii de Martinellis V. j. D. et caerimoniarum apost. magistri (*liber*) 1518–1540.
Diarium Joannis Francisci Firmani Capellae SS^mi D^mi nn. Papae cerimoniarum clerici sub Clem. VII, Paulo III, Marcello II, Paulo IV et Pio IV, Pontificibus. British Museum, 8447.

Notes for the inner history of the papal household, not so valuable as some earlier documents, but still worth consideration. Martinelli frequently finds himself in opposition to what actually takes place. If his advice had been followed at the coronation of the emperor, everything would have been done in a more worthy manner; but he has only brought down on himself the hatred of the imperial party. He is much displeased because Pope Clement does not allow

the young daughter of the emperor to kiss his feet, but kisses her himself: "non placuit mihi, licet puella X annorum."

The most remarkable thing in both MSS. is the authentic information which they give of the presence of Charles V in Rome, in April, 1536, and of his speech on April 7.

Martinelli says: "Nota, quia Imperator voluit venire in cameram paramentorum, ubi Papa induitur paramentis, in qua jam omnes Cardinales venerant, et in circulo inter eos colloquendo expectavit Pontificem, quem venientem veneratus est et a sinistra illius vocari fecit Cardinales omnes ad circulum et oratores principum et alios principes qui reperiebantur, et in conspectu Pontificis et praesentia praefatorum Dominorum longum habuit sermonem in modum querelae et protestationis, contra Christ^m Regem Franciae lingua vulgari itala, narrando multa gesta et contenta inter ipsum et praefatum Regem et qualiter et in quibus defecerat sibi et modo magnum exercitum paraverat contra eum et ducem Sabaudiae, ejus affinem et feudatarium, perturbando et impediendo expeditionem, quam ipse Caesar jam ceperat contra infideles, et continuabat: quod si inter eos et exercitus illorum dimicandum foret, ex quibus vel uterque exercitus vel alter tantum rueret, et strages Christianorum tot sequerentur, timendum erat de pernicie totius Christianitatis, in qua de facili irrueret rabies Turcharum; quod adeo ne talia succederent existimabat expedire reipublicae christianae, ut Altissimus tam ipsum quam regem Franciae tolleret de medio, vel quod ipsimet inter se lites et contentiones dirimerent, ne tota Christianitas pateretur."

J. Frz. Firmanus gives much the same information, and continues as follows: "Papa vero condoluit et promisit se semper laboraturum pro pace et quiete ipsorum et illud a deo supplicationibus petiturum; cum vero Papa iret ad capellam, orator regis Franciae rogavit Imperatorem, ut dignaretur dare in scriptis quae dixerat ut posset ipsi regi insinuare, cui respondit, quod nihil secum agere debebat, sed Pontifici et aliis dixisse quae sibi visa fuerant opportuna. —Die Martis (post feriam 2. Resurrectionis).—Fuit illo mane intimatus cardinalibus recessus imperialis pro hora 18. qui omnes convenerunt dicta hora in locum in quo fieri solent consistoria et Imperatorem exspectarunt, qui dicta hora ivit

ad Papam qui occurrit Sti Marci (?) usque ad aulam Pontificiam et insimul cameram secretariae intrarunt et steterunt per mediam horam colloquentes, cumque exivissent ad anticameram Imperator vocatis Cardinalibus Praelatis proceribus et oratoribus dixit Papa praesente, quod ea, quae praecedente die in camera paramentorum contra regem Franciae protulerat, non animo et intentione ipsum injuriandi dixerat, sed ut manifestaret intentionem suam bonam circa salutem et quietam christianae religionis, nec fuerat ejus animus vel intentio provocare praedictum regem ad duellum, sed voluit inferre quod melius fuisset si ambo morerentur quam tota respublica Christiana damna perniciem et continuas ruinas pateretur, et multa his similia et super his dixit, quae ego audire minime potui propter frequentiam Cardinalium et aliorum nobilium, quibus dictis hora 20. discessit associatus a Pontifice usque ad primam scalam per quam itur ad cortile, ubi habuit benedictionem a Papa, et in cortile ascendit equum album et abiit."

No. 21

Relatio viri nobilis Antonii Suriani doctoris et equitis, qui reversus est orator ex curia Romana, presentata in collegio 18 *Julii*, 1533. [Report of Antonio Suriano, doctor and knight, of his embassy to Rome.] Archivio de Venetia.

"Among the most important particulars," he begins by remarking, "that ambassadors accredited to princes are bound to observe, are the personal qualities of those sovereigns."

He first describes the character of Clement VII. He is of opinion that if the regularity of this pontiff's life and habits be principally considered, his unwearied diligence in giving audience and assiduous observance of all ecclesiastical ceremonies, he will be supposed to have a melancholy temperament; but that those who know him well declare him to be rather of sanguine disposition, only cold at heart —so that he is very slow to resolve, and readily permits himself to be dissuaded from his resolutions.

"Io per me non trovo che in cose pertinenti a stato la sia proceduta cum grande dissimulatione. Ben cauta: et quelle cose che S. S^ta non vole che si intendano, piu presto le tace che dirle sotto falso colore." [For my own part, I do not think that in matters pertaining to the state, his holiness has proceeded with any great dissimulation, being cautious indeed; but such things as his holiness does not wish to be known, he passes over silently in preference to describing them under false colours.]

With regard to the ministers of Clement VII, those to whom the earlier reports allude most frequently are no longer in power—they are not even mentioned. Giacopo Salviati, on the other hand, comes prominently forward, holding the principal administration of Romagna and directing the government of the ecclesiastical dominions generally. With respect to these matters, the pope relied implicitly on him. It is true that he perceived him to have his own interests too constantly in view, and had complained of this even in Bologna, but he permitted him to remain employed in public affairs.

But precisely for that cause Salviati was detested by the other connections of the pope. They considered him to stand in their way; and when Clement was less liberal to them than they desired, they ascribed it to Salviati. "Pare che suadi al papa a tener strette le mani nè li subministri danari secundo è lo appetito loro, che è grande di spender e spander."

But the kinsmen of Clement were also very much at variance among themselves. Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici would have preferred remaining in a secular state, but the pope did but remark, in relation to this matter, that he was "a foolish devil, and did not wish to be a priest." "L'è matto diavolo, el matto non vole esser prete." It was, nevertheless, exceedingly vexatious to the pope when Ippolito really made attempts to expel Duke Alexander from Florence.

Cardinal Ippolito lived on terms of strict friendship with the young Catherine de' Medici, who is here called the "duchessina." She was his "cousin, in the third degree, with whom he lives in great affection, being equally beloved

by her in return; there is no one in whom she more confides, and in all her wants and wishes she applies to no one but to the said cardinal."

Suriano describes the child who was destined to hold so important a position in the world as follows:—"Her disposition is lively, her character firm and spirited, her manners good. She has been brought up and educated by the nuns of the Delle Murate convent in Florence, ladies of excellent reputation and holy life. She is small in person and thin, not pretty, with the large eyes peculiar to the house of Medici."

Suitors from all quarters presented themselves to seek her hand. The duke of Milan, the duke of Mantua, and the king of Scotland, desired her as their consort; but various objections were made to all these princes: the French marriage was at that time not yet decided. "In accordance with his irresolute nature," remarks Suriano, "the pope speaks sometimes with greater, and sometimes with less warmth respecting this match."

But he thinks that the pontiff is certainly disposed to conclude the French alliance, in order that he may win the French party in Florence to his own side. On other points he treats of the foreign relations of the Papal See very briefly, and with much reserve.

No. 21*a*

Relatione di Roma d'Antonio Suriano, 1536. Foscarini MS. in Vienna and the Library of St. Mark's, Venice.

In the copies of this report the date varies from 1535 to 1539. The correct date I consider to be 1536; first, because the emperor's return to Rome is mentioned in the report, and this took place in April, 1536; and next, because there is a letter extant, from Sadolet to Suriano, dated Rome, Nov. 1536, which proves that the ambassador must have left the papal capital before that date.

This is a letter (Sadoleti Epp., p. 383), of which the purport is greatly to the honour of Suriano; "Mihi ea officia

praestitisti, quae vel frater fratri, vel filio praestare indulgens pater solet, nullis meis provocatus officiis."

Three days after the presentation of the preceding report Suriano was again appointed ambassador to Rome (July 21, 1533).

The new report describes the further progress of the events previously alluded to, more particularly the conclusion of the French marriage, which does not appear to have been satisfactory to all the pope's relations. "I will not conceal that this marriage was contracted against the wish of Giacopo Salviati; and still more against that of the signora Lucretia, his wife, who laboured to dissuade the pope from it, even to the extent of using reproachful words." This was doubtless because the Salviati were then disposed to favour the imperialists. Suriano further treats of the remarkable interview between the pope and the emperor, to which we have already called attention. The pope conducted himself with the utmost caution and forethought; and would not pledge himself to anything in writing. "Di tutti li desiderii s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli facevano credere S. S^ta^ esser disposta in tutte alle sue voglie senza pero far provisione alcuna in scritture." The pope wished to have no war—none, at least, in Italy; he desired only to keep the emperor in check: "con questi spaventi assicurarsi del spavento del concilio." [By means of these fears, to secure himself from the dread of a council.]

Gradually the council became the principal consideration of the papal policy. Suriano discusses the points of view from which the Roman court considered this question, in the commencement of the pontificate of Paul III. Already Schomberg declared that it would be agreed to only on condition that whatever was brought before it should be first submitted to the pope and cardinals, to be examined, discussed, and determined on in Rome.

SECTION II

CRITICAL REMARKS ON SARPI AND PALLAVICINI

THE council of Trent, its preliminaries, convocation, twice repeated dissolution, and final assemblage, with all the motives contributing to these events, engross a large portion of the history of the sixteenth century. The immeasurable importance of its effect on the definitive establishment of the Catholic faith, and its relation to that of the Protestants, I need not here insist on. This council forms precisely the central point of the theological and political discords which mark the century.

It has accordingly been made the subject of two elaborate historical delineations, both original, and both in themselves of great importance.

But not only are these works directly opposed to each other, but the world has quarrelled about the historians no less than about their subject. Thus, even in our own times, Paolo Sarpi is received by one party as honest and trustworthy, while Pallavicini is accounted fallacious and unworthy of belief; by the other party, Pallavicini is declared to merit implicit credence, while Sarpi is affirmed to be almost proverbially mendacious.

On approaching these voluminous works, we are seized with a sort of terror. It would be a sufficiently difficult task to make oneself master of their contents, even did they treat only of authentic and credible matters; but how much more formidable is that task rendered by the fact that we have to be on our guard at every step, lest we should be falsely directed by one or the other, and drawn into a labyrinth of intentional deceptions!

It is, nevertheless, impossible to test their authenticity step by step, by means of facts better known to other

authorities; for where could impartial information respecting this subject be found?—and even could we find it, fresh folios would be required before we could effect a satisfactory investigation.

There is, then, nothing remaining to us but to attempt to gain a clear comprehension of the method pursued by each of our authors.

For all that appears in the works of an historian does not necessarily belong to himself, more particularly in works so comprehensive and so rich in matter as those in question. He receives the great mass of his facts from various sources, and it is in the mode of treatment to which he subjects his materials, and the mastery he obtains over them, that we first become acquainted with the individual man, who is himself the pervading spirit of his work and in whom its unity must be sought. Even in these folios, from which industry itself recoils in terror, the presence of a poet makes itself felt.

Storia del Concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave Polano. The first edition, free from extraneous additions. Geneva, 1629.

It was in England, and by the agency of Dominis of Spalatro, an archbishop converted to Protestantism, that this work was first published. Although Fra Paolo Sarpi never acknowledged himself to be the author, there is yet no doubt that it is due to him. It may be gathered from his letters that he was occupied with such a history. There is a copy in Venice, which he had himself caused to be made, and which has been corrected by his own hand; and it may be affirmed that he was the only man who could, at any time, have composed a history such as that now before us.

Fra Paolo stood at the head of a Catholic opposition to the pope, the hostility of which proceeded originally from political motives; but this party held views similar to those of the Protestants on many points, from having adopted certain principles of St. Augustine, and were indeed occasionally charged with Protestantism.

But Sarpi's work is not to be at once regarded with suspicion on account of these opinions. The whole world may be said to have been then divided between decided adherents and decided opponents of the council of Trent; from the former there was nothing but eulogy to be expected, from the latter nothing but reproach. The position of Sarpi was, upon the whole, removed from the influence of both these conflicting parties; he had no inducement to defend the council on every point, nor was he under the necessity of wholly condemning it. His position secured to him the possibility of examining passing events with an unprejudiced eye; it was only in the midst of an Italian Catholic republic that he could have gathered the materials requisite for that purpose.

If we desire to attain a correct idea of the mode in which he proceeded to his labour, we must first recall to memory the methods by which great historical works were composed before his time.

Writers had not then imposed on themselves the task either of gathering materials into a complete and uniform body, a thing always so difficult to do, nor yet of subjecting them to a critical examination; they did not insist on exploring original sources of information, nor, finally, did they elaborate, by intellectual effort, the mass of matter before them.

How few, indeed, are they who impose on themselves this labour, even in the present day!

At that time, authors were content not only to take those authorities which were generally considered authentic as the basis of their histories, but they proceeded further, and even adopted whole passages, simply completing the narration, where that was practicable, by means of the new materials which they had brought together and which were interpolated at the points requiring them. This done, their principal care then was to give all this matter a regular and uniform style.

It was thus that Sleidan formed his work out of the documents relating to the history of the Reformation, as he could best procure them; these he then linked together without much discrimination or critical labour, transforming

them by the colouring of his Latinity into one uniform whole.

Thuanus has transferred, without scruple, long passages from other historians to his own pages. He has taken Buchanan's Scottish History, for example, has separated its various parts, and inserted them amidst the different portions of his work. His English history was supplied to him from materials sent by Camden; the German he takes from Sleidan and Chytraeus, the Italian from Adriani, and the Turkish he has borrowed from Busbequius and Leunclavius.

It is true that this was a method whereby there was but little chance of securing originality, and, as one of its consequences, the reader frequently receives the work of another author instead of him whose name is on the title-page. It has been revived and again adopted in our own day, more especially by the writers of French memoirs, who are, indeed, altogether without excuse, for it should be the peculiar characteristic of these works to communicate the unaltered original.

To return to Sarpi. In the very commencement of his work he places before us the following undisguised account of his own position.

"It is my purpose to write the History of the Council of Trent. For, though many renowned historians of our age have touched upon separate points thereof in their various works, and Johann Sleidan, a very accurate writer, has related the causes which gave rise to it ('le cause antecedenti') with infinite diligence, yet were all these matters put together, they would not present a circumstantial narration. As soon as I began to concern myself with the affairs of mankind, I felt a great desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of that history; and when I had gathered all that I found written regarding it, and also the documents which had been printed or had been scattered about in manuscript, I began to seek further among the papers left by the prelates and others who had taken part in the council, and so to examine such intelligence as they had furnished in regard to the matter, with the votes they had given, as recorded either by themselves or others, and all information transmitted by letters from the city of Trent at

the time of the council. In doing this, I have spared no pains or labour, and have had the good fortune to procure a sight of whole collections of notes and letters from persons who took a large part in those negotiations and transactions. When I had thus brought together so many documents, furnishing more than sufficient materials for a narrative, I resolved to put them in order and form a connected relation of them."

Sarpi has here described his position with evident simplicity. We see him on the one side placed amidst the historians whose accounts he arranges and links together, but which he does not find sufficient, and on the other side we perceive him to be provided with manuscript materials, from which he completes what has been left deficient by his printed auxiliaries.

Unhappily, Sarpi has not supplied us with a detailed enumeration of these authorities, whether manuscript or printed, neither had that been the method of his predecessors; he gave his whole care, as they had done, to the purpose of weaving a well-ordered agreeable history, which should be complete in itself, out of the mass of intelligence that he had found.

Meanwhile we are enabled to ascertain of what printed historians he availed himself, even without requiring these particulars, and we find that these were for the earlier periods Jovius and Guicciardini; next Thuanus and Adriani, but principally Sleidan, whom he has moreover mentioned by name.

For example, in the whole of his narrative describing the state of affairs at the time of the Interim, and after the transfer of the council to Bologna, he had Sleidan before him. It was but in a few instances that he consulted the sources whence that author had derived his information; in all other cases he has nothing but Sleidan.

It will repay our labour to examine his mode of proceeding, and will conduct us a step further in the examination we have undertaken.

He not unfrequently gives a direct translation of Sleidan, —a free one certainly, but still a translation. In regard to the negotiations of the emperor with the princes, for example,

as touching their preliminary submission to the authority of the council of Trent (Sleidan, lib. xix. p. 50) :—

"Et Palatinus quidem territatus fuit etiam, nisi morem gereret, ob recentem anni superioris offensionem, uti diximus, cum vix ea cicatrix coaluisset: Mauricius, qui et socerum landgravium cuperet liberari et nuper admodum esset auctus a Caesare, faciundum aliquid sibi videbat. Itaque cum Caesar eis prolixe de sua voluntate per internuncios promitteret, et ut ipsius fidei rem permitterent flagitaret, illi demum Octobris die vigesimo quarto assentiuntur. Reliquae solum erant civitates; quae magni rem esse periculi videbant submittere se concilii decretis indifferenter. Cum iis Granvellanus et Hasius diu multumque agebant; atque interim fama per urbem divulgata fuit, illos esse praefractos, qui recusarent id quod principes omnes comprobassent: auditae quoque fuerunt comminationes, futurum ut acrius multo quam nuper plectantur. Tandem fuit inventa ratio ut et Caesari satisfieret et ipsis etiam esset cautum. Etenim vocati ad Caesarem, ut ipsi responsa principum corrigant, non suum esse dicunt, et simul scriptum ei tradunt, quo testificantur quibus ipsi conditionibus concilium probent. Caesar, eorum audito sermone, per Seldium respondet, sibi pergratum esse quod reliquorum exemplo rem sibi permittant et caeteris consentiant." . . . (Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 283.)

"Con l'elettor Palatino le preghiere havevano specie di minacce rispetto alle precedenti offese perdonate di recente. Verso Mauricio duca di Sassonia erano necessità, per tanti beneficii nuovamente havuti da Cesare, e perche desiderava liberare il lantgravio suo suocero. Perilche promettendo loro Cesare d'adoperarsi che in concilio havessero la dovuta sodisfattione e ricercandogli che si fidassero in lui, finalmente consentirono, e furono seguiti dagli ambasciatori dell' elettore di Brandeburg e da tutti i prencipi. Le città ricusarono, come cosa di gran pericolo, il sottomettersi indifferentemente a tutti i decreti del concilio. Il Granvela negotiò con gli ambasciatori loro assai e longamente, trattandogli anco da ostinati a ricusar quello che i prencipi havevano comprobato, aggiongendo qualche sorte di minacce di condannargli in somma maggiore che la già pagata: perilche finalmente furono costrette di condescendere al voler di

Cesare, riservata però cautione per l'osservanza delle promesse. Onde chiamate alla presenza dell' imperatore, et interrogate se si conformavano alla deliberatione de' prencipi, risposero che sarebbe stato troppo ardire il loro a voler correggere la risposta de' prencipi, e tutti insieme diedero una scrittura contenente le conditioni con che avrebbono ricevuto il concilio. La scrittura fu ricevuta ma non letta, e per nome di Cesare dal suo cancellario furono lodati che ad essempio degli altri havessero rimesso il tutto all' imperatore e fidatisi di lui : e l'istesso imperatore fece dimostratione d'haverlo molto grato. Così l'una e l'altra parte voleva esser ingannata." [Entreaties to the Elector Palatine were a kind of menace, on account of his recent offences, which had been lately pardoned : in the case of Maurice, duke of Saxony also, there was a necessity for compliance, because of the many benefits that he had just received from the emperor, and also because he desired to liberate the landgrave, his father-in-law. For which causes, and on the emperor's promising them that he would take measures to secure them all due satisfaction from the council, at the same time that he requested them to confide in him, they ultimately consented to do so, and were followed by the ambassadors of the elector of Brandenburg, and all the other princes. The cities refused, considering it a dangerous thing to submit themselves indifferently to all the decrees of the council. Granvelle negotiated much, and at great length with their ambassadors, charging them indeed with obstinacy for refusing to agree to that which had been approved by the princes, adding a sort of threat that they should be condemned in a larger amount than that already paid. Wherefore they were finally compelled to yield to the emperor's will, but taking care, nevertheless, for the observance of the promises. Then, being called into the presence of the emperor, and questioned as to whether they would conform to the resolution of the princes, they replied that it would be too bold in them to wish to correct the answer of the princes, and together with this, they gave in a written statement of the conditions on which they would be willing to receive the council. The paper was received but not read ; and they were commended by the chancellor, in

the emperor's name, for having remitted all to the emperor, and confided themselves to him according to the example of the others: the emperor himself also made a show of being much pleased with this. Thus both parties chose to be deceived.]

Even in this translation it is obvious that Sarpi does not adhere with strict truth to the facts laid before him. It is not affirmed by Sleidan that Granvelle threatened the cities; what the German describes as a mere common rumour, the Italian puts into the mouth of the minister. The expedient adopted in the matter of the cities is more clearly expressed in the original than in the translation, and as in this instance, so it is in innumerable other passages.

If that were all, there would be nothing further to remark; the reader would merely require to bear constantly in mind that he had a somewhat arbitrary paraphrase of Sleidan before him: but we occasionally meet with alterations of a more important character.

In the first place, Sarpi had not acquired an accurate idea of the constitution of the empire; he has, in fact, always in his thoughts a constitution consisting of three estates,—the clergy, the temporal sovereigns, and the cities. He not unfrequently alters the expressions of his author, for the purpose of bringing them into harmony with his own peculiar and erroneous conception of the matter. Sleidan, for example (lib. xx. p. 108), discusses the votes given in respect of the Interim in the three colleges. 1. In the electoral college. The three ecclesiastical electors are in its favour, the three secular electors are opposed to it: "Reliqui tres electores non quidem ejus erant sententiae, Palatinus imprimis et Mauricius, verum uterque causas habebant cur Caesari non admodum reclamarent." 2. By the college of princes: "Caeteri principes, qui maxima parte sunt episcopi, eodem modo sicut Moguntinus atque collegae respondent." 3. "Civitatum non ita magna fuit habita ratio." Now, from this Sarpi makes what follows (lib. iii. p. 300): the votes of the three ecclesiastical electors he gives as Sleidan has done, but proceeds thus: "Al parer de' quali s'accostarono tutti i vescovi: i prencipi secolari per non offendere Cesare tacquero: et a loro esempio gli ambasciatori delle città parlarono poco, nè

di quel poco fu tenuto conto." [To the opinion of whom, all the bishops attached themselves: the temporal princes remained silent, that they might not offend the emperor; and, led by their example, the ambassadors of the cities spoke little, nor was any account made of that little.] Thus, what Sleidan has said of two electors, is here extended to all the temporal princes. The bishops are made to appear as if giving their votes separately, and all the odium is thrown upon them. The great importance to which the council of the princes of the empire had at that time attained, is completely misunderstood. Even in the passages cited above, Sarpi affirms that the princes had gone over to the opinion of the electors; while the fact was, that they had already expressed a decision of their own, which differed from that of the electoral princes on very many points.

But it is of still higher moment that Sarpi, whilst adopting the statements he finds in Sleidan, and inserting them together with statements which he finds elsewhere, and which he extracts or translates, has also interwoven his own remarks and observations through the whole course of the narrative. Let us examine the nature of these, for this is extremely remarkable.

For example, the worthy Sleidan (lib. xx. p. 58) repeats, without the least suspicion, a proposal of the bishop of Trent, wherein three things are demanded: the recall of the council to Trent, the despatch of a legate into Germany, and a regulation, fixing the manner in which proceedings should be continued, in the event of a vacancy occurring in the papal see. This Sarpi translates literally, but interpolates the following remark: "The third requisition was added," he says, "to remind the pope of his advanced age, and his approaching death, that he might thus be rendered more compliant and disposed to greater concessions, for he would surely not wish to leave the resentment of the emperor as a legacy to his successor."

Such is the spirit of his observations throughout the work: they are steeped in gall and bitterness, one and all. "The legate summoned the assembly, and gave his opinion first; for the Holy Spirit, which is wont to move the legates in accordance with the wishes of the pope, and the bishops

in accordance with those of the legates, inspired them on this occasion in his usual manner."

According to Sleidan, the Interim was sent to Rome,—"for there was still something conceded to the Protestants in it." According to Sarpi, the German prelates insisted on this, "for," says he, "they have laboured from old times to maintain the papal authority in reverence, because this was the only counterpoise that could be presented to that of the emperor, which they could not withstand but with the aid of the pope, especially if the emperor should once compel them to do their duty according to the practice of the primitive Christian church, and should seek to restrain the abuses of the so-called ecclesiastical liberty within due limits."

It is obvious that Sarpi differs widely, upon the whole, from the compilers who preceded him. The abstract that he makes, the epitome he gives, is full of life and spirit. In spite of the foreign material that he works on, his style has an easy, pleasant, and agreeable flow; nor does the reader perceive the points of transition, when he passes from one author to another. But with these qualities there is, without doubt, connected the fact that his narration assumes the colour of his own opinions: his systematic opposition to the Roman court, his ill-will or his hatred towards the papacy, are constantly apparent, and so much the greater is the effect produced.

But Paolo Sarpi had, as we have seen, materials wholly different from any to be found in printed authorities; and from these it is that by far the most important part of his work has been derived.

He has himself distinguished the "interconciliary" and preliminary events from the proper history of the council. He tells us that he desires to treat the former more in the manner of an annual register, or book of annals; the latter in that of a diary. He has also made another difference, which consists in this, that for the former he has for the most part adhered to the well-known and current authors; while for the latter, on the contrary, he has drawn from new sources, and used original documents.

The question first, in regard to these authorities, is, of what kind and nature they were.

And in reference to this, I cannot believe that he could obtain much information as to particulars from such a man as Oliva, secretary to the first legate sent to the council; or from Ferrier, French ambassador to Venice, who was also at the council. With respect to Oliva, indeed, Sarpi has committed a great error, since he describes him as leaving the council before he really did so. The French documents were very soon printed. The influence of these men, who belonged to the malcontent party, with Sarpi, consisted in this, that they confirmed and strengthened the aversion he felt to the council. The Venetian collections, on the other hand, supplied him with the original acts and documents in great number and completeness: letters of the legates, for example, as those of Monte; notes of secret agents, such as Visconti; reports of the nuncios, Chieragato, for example; circumstantial diaries, that had been kept at the council; the Lettere d'Avisi, and other memorials in vast numbers, and more or less authentic. Sarpi was in this respect so fortunate, that he had opportunity of availing himself of some documents which have never since come to light, and which Pallavicini, notwithstanding the important and extensive aid afforded him, was not able to procure. For these, the inquirer into history must have recourse to the pages of Sarpi through all time.

There now remains only the question of how he employed these materials.

He has, without doubt, directly transferred some portions of them to his own work, with very slight modifications. Courayer assures us, that he had held in his hands a manuscript report on the congregations of the year 1563, which had been used and almost copied by Sarpi: "que notre historien a consultée, et presque copiée mot pour mot."

I have in my possession a manuscript "Historia del S. Concilio di Trento scritta per M. Antonio Milledonne, Secr. Veneziano," which was also known to Foscarini (Lett. Venez. i. p. 351) and to Mendham, by a contemporary and well-informed author; and this, notwithstanding its extreme brevity, is by no means unimportant, in relation to the later sittings of the council.

Now, I find that Sarpi has occasionally adopted this

manuscript word for word. For example, Milledonne says: "Il senato di Norimbergo rispose al nontio Delfino, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accettava il concilio, come quello che non aveva le conditioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simil risposta fecero li senati di Argentina e Francfort al medesimo nontio Delfino. Il senato di Augusta e quello di Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dalli altri che tenevano la confessione Augustana." The following are the words of Sarpi (p. 450): "Il noncio Delfino nel ritorno espose il suo carico in diverse città. Dal senato di Norimberg hebbe risposta, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accetterà il concilio, come quello che non haveva conditioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simili risposte gli fecero li senati d'Argentina e di Francfort. Il senato d'Augusta e quello d'Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dagli altri che tengono la lor confessione."

Sarpi refrains from following Milledonne only where the latter has used terms of praise, even though these eulogies are wholly unprejudiced.

Thus Milledonne remarks, that "Il C[l] Gonzaga prattico di negotii di stato, per aver governato il ducato di Mantova molti anni doppo la morte del duca suo fratello fino che li nepoti erano sotto tutela, gentiluomo di bell' aspetto, di buona creanza, libero e schietto nel parlare, di buona mente, inclinato al bene. Seripando era Napolitano, arcivescovo di Salerno, frate eremitano, grandissimo teologo, persona di ottima coscienza e di singolar bontà, desideroso del bene universale della christianità."

Sarpi is much more reserved and frugal of praise in regard to these men: he remarks, for example (p. 456), "Destinò al concilio Fra Girolamo, C[l] Seripando, teologo di molta fama." That he considers to be enough.

The letters of Visconti, which Sarpi had before him, were subsequently printed, and we perceive, on comparing them with his pages, that he has in some places kept very close to them. Take as an example Visconti, Lettres et Négotiations, vol. ii. p. 174:—"Ci sono poi stati alcuni Spagnuoli, li quali parlando dell' istituzione de' vescovi e della residenza havevano havuto ordine di affirmare queste

opinioni per vere come li precetti del decalogo. Segovia segui in queste due materie l'opinione di Granata, dicendo ch'era verità espressa la residenza ed istituzione delli vescovi essere de jure divino e che niuno la poteva negare, soggiungendo che tanto più si dovea fare tal dichiarazione per dannare l'opinione degli heretici che tenevano il contrario. Guadice, Aliffi e Montemarano con molti altri prelati Spagnuoli hanno aderito all' opinione di Granata e di Segovia; ma piacque al signore dio che si fecero all' ultimo di buona risoluzione."

Compare Sarpi, viii. 753:—"Granata disse, esser cosa indegna haver tanto tempo deriso li padri trattando del fondamento dell' institutione de' vescovi e poi adesso tralasciandola, e ne ricercò la dichiarazione de jure divino, dicendo maravegliarsi perche non si dichiarasse un tal punto verissimo et infallibile. Aggionse che si dovevano prohibire come heretici tutti quei libri che dicevano il contrario. Al qual parer adheri Segovia, affermando che era espressa verità che nissuno poteva negarla, e si doveva dichiarare per dannare l'openione degli heretici che tenevano il contrario. Seguivano anco Guadice, Aliffe et Monte Marano con gli altri prelati Spagnuoli, de' quali alcuni dissero, la loro openione esser così vera come li precetti del decalogo."

We perceive that Sarpi was no common transcriber, and the more we compare him with his sources, the more we become convinced of the talent he possessed for completing the connection of his materials, and for giving force and elevation to the manner of his authorities by some slight turn of expression. But equally obvious are the efforts he makes to strengthen all impressions unfavourable to the council.

His unprinted sources are treated precisely in the same manner as his printed materials; nor could we indeed expect that it should be otherwise.

But it will be readily perceived that this method has occasionally much influenced his mode of presenting matters of fact. This appears among other instances in his account of the most important of the German religious conferences,—that held at Ratisbon in 1541.

He here again follows Sleidan, and very closely; he had

also, without doubt, the report which Bucer drew up in relation to this conference before him.

But in his mode of using these German authorities he again commits the same faults. The states twice returned replies to the proposals of the emperor in this diet, and each time they were divided among themselves. The electoral college was favourable to the emperor's purpose; the college of princes was opposed to it. But there was a further difference, namely, that the princes gave way the first time, and did not do so on the second occasion; on the contrary, they returned a dissentient reply.

Sleidan seeks to explain the opposition of the college of princes by remarking that there were so many bishops among its members,—certainly a very important point as regarded the constitution of the empire. But Sarpi completely destroys the essential meaning of this passage by persisting in calling the college of princes directly "bishops." Speaking of the first reply, he says, "I vescovi rifiutarono" [the bishops refused]; of the second, "I vescovi, con alcuni pochi prencipi cattolici" [the bishops, with some few Catholic princes]; whereby, as we have said, he completely misrepresents the constitution of the empire.

But we will not dwell further on this point. The principal question is, in what manner he used those secret sources that were attainable to himself only, and which he might venture to believe would long remain unknown.

Towards the history of that diet, he had the Instruction addressed to Contarini, which Cardinal Quirini afterwards printed from a Venetian manuscript.

And here we have first to remark, that what Sarpi found in the Instruction he has interwoven here and there into the conferences held between the legate and the emperor.

We find in the Instruction, for example :—"Eos articulos in quibus inter se convenire non possunt, ad nos remittant, qui in fide boni pastoris et universalis pontificis dabimus operam ut per universale concilium vel per aliquam viam aequivalentem, non praecipitanter, sed mature et quemadmodum res tanti momenti exigit, finis his controversiis imponatur, et remedium quod his malis adhibendum est quam diutissime perdurare possit."

Sarpi makes Contarini require, "ogni cosa si mandasse al papa, il qual prometteva in fede di buon pastore et universal pontefice di fare che il tutto fosse determinato per un concilio generale o per altra via equivalente con sincerità e con nissun affetto humano, non con precipitio, ma maturamente" [that every thing should be referred to the pope, who promised, on the faith of a good pastor and as universal pontiff, to secure that all should be determined by a general council, or by some equivalent means, with uprightness and without bias of human affection,—not precipitately, but maturely].

In another place the Instruction proceeds as follows: "Si quidem ab initio pontificatus nostri, ut facilius hoc religionis dissidium in pristinam concordiam reduceretur, primum christianos principes ad veram pacem et concordiam per literas et nuntios nostros saepissime hortati sumus; mox ob hanc eandem causam concilium generale . . . christianis regibus et principibus etiam per proprios nuntios significavimus . . . multaque in Germania religionis causa non ea qua decuit autoritatem nostram, ad quam religionis judicium cognitio et examen spectat, reverentia tractari et fieri, non absque gravi dolore animi intelleximus; tum temporum conditione moti, tum Caesareae et regiae majestatum vel earum oratorum pollicitationibus persuasi, quod ea quae hic fiebant boni alicujus inde secuturi causa fierent, partim patientes tulimus," &c.

Sarpi adds to this: "Sicome la S^ta^ S. nel principio del pontificato per questo medesimo fine haveva mandato lettere e nuntii a' prencipi per celebrar il concilio, e poi intimatolo, e mandato al luogo i suoi legati, e che se haveva sopportato che in Germania tante volte s'havesse parlato delle cose della religione con poca riverentia dell' autorità sua, alla quale sola spetta trattarle, l'haveva fatto per essergli dalle M^ta^ S. data intentione e promesso che ciò si faceva per bene." [As his holiness in the beginning of his pontificate had for this very cause sent letters and nuncios to princes for the convocation of a council, and afterwards signified the place and sent his legates to it, so if he had endured that religion and its concerns should so often have been spoken of in Germany with little reverence towards his

authority, to which it belongs to treat of them, he had done so because his majesty had given him assurance and promises that this was done for a good end.]

We have said enough to shew that the declarations which Sarpi puts into the mouth of Contarini are taken directly from the Instruction itself; and when we are once made aware of how the matter stands, we can readily excuse him; yet it is not to be denied that truth is sometimes placed in jeopardy by this method of proceeding. The legate received instructions constantly altered to meet the exigencies arising from daily claims in the course of events. Sarpi represents him as proposing reasons for referring to Rome only the points on which no agreement had been come to, at a time when it was required in Rome that all should be submitted for the approbation of the Roman court, not excepting even those points on which the parties had already agreed.

But to this first departure from his authority, where he has applied the words of an Instruction to a case for which they were never intended, he adds others of still greater importance.

The pope declares himself in the Instruction to be strongly opposed to a national council: "Majestati Caesareae in memoriam redigas, quantopere concilium illud sit semper detestata, cum alibi tum Bononiae palam diceret nihil aeque perniciosum fore et apostolicae et imperiali dignitatibus quam Germanorum nationale concilium, illa nulla meliore via quam per generale concilium obviam iri posse confiteretur: quin imo etiam S. M. post Ratisbonensem dietam anno d^ni^ 1532 habitam pro sua singulari prudentia omni studio semper egit, ne qua imperialis dieta hactenus sit celebrata ac ex ea occasione ad concilium nationale deveniretur."

This also Sarpi gives literally, and even cites it as taken from the Instruction, but still with a remarkable addition: "Che raccordasse all' imperatore quanto egli medesimo havesse detestato il concilio nationale essendo in Bologna, conoscendolo pernicioso all' autorità imperiale: poiche i sudditi preso animo dal vedersi concessa potestà di mutare le cose della religione pensarebbono ancora a mutare lo stato: e che S. M. dopo il 1532 non volse mai più celebrare in sua presenza dieta imperiale per non dar occasione di

domandar concilio nationale." [That he should remind the emperor how much he had himself detested the national council when he was at Bologna, as knowing it to be pernicious to the imperial authority; because subjects, taking courage from finding themselves granted power to change affairs of religion, would next think of changing matters of state; so that his majesty, after 1532, would never more have an imperial diet held in his presence, that he might not give occasion for demanding a national council.]

Who could avoid supposing from this that the emperor had himself expressed the idea of a nation readily changing the form of its government, when once it had altered that of its religion? Yet, on this point, I cannot believe the author simply on his own assertion; nothing of the kind is to be found in the Instruction; it is, indeed, a thought that did not obtain currency in the world until after the events of a later period.

I do not think my criticism will appear too minute. How shall we ascertain whether a writer speaks the truth or not, except by comparing him with the original authorities that he has had before him?

And I discover a deviation still more important than those that we have already observed.

Even in the first conference that he describes as taking place between the emperor and Contarini, we find him interweaving the words of the Instruction—those important words to which we have already referred.

The pope excuses himself for not having given to the cardinal so full and extensive an authority as the emperor and king desired to see him invested with. "Primum, quia videndum imprimis est, an protestantes . . . in principiis nobiscum conveniant, cujusmodi est hujus sanctae sedis primatus tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro institutus, sacros, ecclesiae sacramenta, et alia quaedam quae tam sacrarum literarum autoritate tum universalis ecclesiae perpetua observatione hactenus observata et comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus: quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur."

Sarpi makes Contarini say, "Che S. S^ta^ gli aveva data ogni potestà di concordare co' protestanti, purche essi

ammetino i principii, che sono il primato della sede apostolica instituito da Christo, et i sacramenti sicome sono insegnati nella chiesa Romana, *e le altre cose determinate nella bolla di Leone*, offerendosi nelle altre cose di dar ogni sodisfattione alla Germania." [That his holiness had given him all power to agree with the Protestants, provided they would admit the first principles, which were, the primacy of the Apostolic See instituted by Christ, *and the other things determined in the bull of Leo*, offering, in respect of all other questions, to give full satisfaction to Germany.]

We see how great a difference is here; it was in the vague and undefined character of the pope's words that the only possibility of an amicable issue lay. The conference could have had no conceivable object if this expedient had not left it the prospect of such an issue; but in Sarpi this is altogether done away with. The pope is not merely desiring "quaedam quae tibi nota esse bene scimus," but openly demands the recognition of the decrees contained in Leo's bull, the condemnation, that is, of the Lutheran tenets: this was a thing which was utterly impracticable.

Sarpi will by no means acknowledge that the papal see gave proof of a disposition to conciliatory measures of any kind whatever. According to him, Contarini was compelled to assert the papal authority in its most rigorous forms. In Sarpi, Contarini begins at once with the declaration that "the pope could by no means share the power of deciding on doubtful points of faith with any person whatsoever; to him, alone, was the privilege of infallibility accorded, in the words, "Ego rogavi pro te, Petre;" matters concerning which, in the Instruction at least, there is not a word to be found.

Upon the whole, Sarpi considered the papacy in the light of his times. After the restoration was accomplished, it became much more despotic and inflexible than it had been during the times of its danger and depression. But it was in its plenitude of power and in the perfection of its self-confidence that it stood before the eyes of Sarpi. He transferred to earlier times what he perceived and felt in his own: all the information he obtained, all the

documents that passed through his hands, were interpreted in this spirit, which was entirely natural to him, and was derived from the position held by his native city, and by his party in that city, as also from his own personal condition.

We have yet another historical work by Paolo Sarpi, which relates to the dissensions between Rome and Venice in the year 1606: "Historia particolare delle cose passate tra 'l summo pontefice Paolo V e la Ser^ma^ Rep^a^ di Venetia; Lion, 1624." This is written, for the most part, in a similar spirit. It is a masterly delineation, and, upon the whole, is true; still it is a partisan work. With regard to the dissensions among the Venetians themselves, which broke forth on that occasion and formed so important a characteristic of their domestic history, there is little or nothing to be found in Sarpi. To judge from what he says, it would appear that there was but one opinion in Venice; he is continually speaking of the "princeps," by which name he designates the Venetian government. The employment of this fiction scarcely permits him to attain to any very minute or exact representation of internal relations. He glides very lightly over such things as were but little to the honour of Venice, such as the delivering up of the prisoners, for example, speaking as if he did not know why they were first given up to the ambassador, and then, with a different form of words, to the cardinal. Nor does he mention the fact that the Spaniards were favourable to the exclusion of the Jesuits. He had vowed an implacable hatred to both, and will not give himself the trouble to remark that their interests were on this occasion at variance.

It is much the same with his History of the Council; the original authorities, the sources of information, are collected with diligence, elaborated carefully, and used with the highest intelligence. Neither can we affirm that they are falsified, or that they are frequently and essentially perverted; but the spirit of the work is one of decided opposition.

By this method, Sarpi laid open a new path. To what had been mere compilation, he gave the unity of a general

and definite tendency. His work is disparaging, reproachful, and hostile. It is the first example of a history in which the whole development of the subject is accompanied by unceasing censures. The character of his work is far more decided in this respect than that of Thuanus, who first made a slight approach to the manner wherein Sarpi has found innumerable followers.

Istoria del Concilio di Trento scritta dal Padre Sforza Pallavicino della Compagnia di Gesu, 1664.

A book like the history of Sarpi, so richly furnished with details never before made known, so full of spirit and sarcasm, treating of an event so important, and one of which the consequences exercised a commanding influence on those times, could not fail to produce the deepest impression. The first edition appeared in 1619, and between that year and the year 1662, four editions of a Latin translation had been published. There were, besides, a German and a French translation. The court of Rome was the more earnestly determined to have this work refuted, from the fact that it contained many errors which were immediately obvious to all who were accurately acquainted with the events of that period.

A Jesuit, Terentio Alciati, prefect of studies at the Collegio Romano, immediately occupied himself with the collection of materials for a refutation, which should be also a circumstantial exposition of the subject. His book received the title of "Historiae Concilii Tridentini a veritatis hostibus evulgatae Elenchus;"[1] he amassed an enormous body of materials, but died in 1651, before he had brought them into order.

The general of the Jesuits, Goswin Nickel, selected another member of his order, Sforza Pallavicini, who had already given evidence of some literary talent, for the completion of the task, and for this purpose relieved him from all other occupations. The general appointed him to

[1] It is so called in Mazzuchelli.

this work, we are told by Pallavicini himself, "as a condottiere appoints one of his soldiers."

He published the results of his labours in three thick quartos, of which the first appeared in the year 1656.

It is a work comprising an immense accumulation of material, and is of the utmost importance for the history of the sixteenth century, beginning, as it does, from the commencement of the Reformation. The archives were all thrown open to the author, and he had access to all that could promote his purpose in the several libraries of Rome. Not only were the acts of the council, in all their extent, at his command, but he had also the correspondence of the legates with Rome, together with various other collections of documentary evidence, and sources of information innumerable, all at his entire disposal. He is far from attempting to conceal his authorities; he rather makes a parade of their titles in the margin of his book: the number he cites is nearly countless.

His principal object is to refute Sarpi. At the end of each volume, he places a catalogue of the "errors, in matters of fact," of which he maintains that he has convicted his opponent; he reckons 361, but adds, that he has confuted innumerable others, which do not appear in the catalogue.

In his preface, he announces that he "will not suffer himself to be drawn into any slight skirmishing: whoever shall propose to attack him may advance in full order of battle, and refute his whole book as he had wholly refuted Paolo Sarpi." But what an undertaking were that! We are not to be tempted into any such mode of proceeding.

We must be content, as we have said, with giving the means of forming an idea of Pallavicini's method by the collection of some few examples.

Since he drew from so many secret records and other sources previously unknown, and in fact derived his whole work from their combination, our first inquiry must be directed to the manner in which he availed himself of these resources.

We shall do this with the more facility in cases where the original authorities used by Pallavicini have since been

printed; but I have had the good fortune to examine a whole series of documents quoted by him, which have never been printed: our first business must now be to compare the originals with his text.

I will do this in respect to some few points consecutively.

1. And first, it must be acknowledged, that Pallavicini has in many instances made a very satisfactory use of the Instructions and other papers laid before him, and given faithful extracts. I have compared an Instruction received by the Spanish ambassador in November, 1562, for example; as also the answer returned to him by the pope in March, 1563, and the new Instruction despatched by the pope to his nuncio, with the extracts made from these papers by Pallavicini, and have found them to be throughout in perfect harmony. (Pall. xx. 10; xxiv. 1.) He has simply availed himself of a right, when, in certain cases, he has made transpositions which do no injury to truth. It is indeed true that he occasionally softens the strength of the expression; as, for example, where the pope says that he had opened the council again, only because he relied on the support of the king, and in the persuasion that the king would be his right arm, a guide and leader in all his purposes and proceedings. "Il fondamento che facessimo nella promessa di S. M^tà^ e de' suoi ministri di doverci assistere ci fece entrare arditamente nell' impresa, pensando di avere S. M^tà^ per nostro braccio dritto e che avesse a esserci guida o conduttiero in ogni nostra azione e pensiero." He thus makes the pope merely say that he would not have reopened the council had he not cherished the expectation that the king would be his right arm and leader; but since he has suffered the substance to remain, there is no great cause for censure. In regard to the mission of Visconti to Spain, and that of another ambassador to the emperor, Sarpi is of opinion (viii. 61) that their commission to propose a meeting was a mere pretence; but this is too subtle a suspicion; the proposal for a congress, or a conference as it was then called, is one of the points most urgently insisted on in the Instruction. Pallavicini is without doubt quite right in maintaining this.

2. But Pallavicini is not always the more correctly

informed of these two writers. When Sarpi relates that Paul III had proposed to the Emperor Charles V, at the conference of Busseto, the investiture of his nephew, who had married a natural daughter of Charles, with the fief of Milan, Pallavicini devotes an entire chapter to the refutation of this assertion. He will not believe the historians in whose works it appears. "How," he exclaims, "could the pope then have ventured to write letters to the emperor in such a tone as that he employed?" "Con qual petto avrebbe ardito di scrivere a Carlo lettere così risentite?" The emperor might have at once reproached him with shameless dissimulation (simulatione sfacciata). Now, since Pallavicini is so much in earnest, we must needs believe that he is here writing *bonâ fide*. Yet the facts as related by Sarpi are nevertheless founded in truth. By the dispatches of the Florentine ambassador (Dispaccio Guicciardini, 26 Giugno, 1543) this is established beyond contradiction.

In a manuscript life of Vasto may be found still more circumstantial details respecting this matter. We will here cite a "Discorso" of Cardinal Carpi which tends to the same purpose. Nay, the pope had not given up this idea even in the year 1547.—Le cardinal de Bologne au roy Henry II, Ribier, ii. 9:—"L'un—le pape—demande Milan, qu'il jamais n'aura; l'autre—l'empereur—400,000 sc., qu'il n'aura sans rendre Milan." Notwithstanding this, Pope Paul III did certainly write those letters.

3. But the question next arises whether Pallavicini's errors are generally made *bonâ fide*. This cannot have been the case in every instance; it sometimes happened that his documents were not so orthodox and Catholic as himself. While the passing events of the time were still in progress —while they were displaying themselves in all their varying aspects, and presenting the possibility of changing development and differing results, it was not possible to take such strict views in regard to them as were entertained when all was again established on its former basis. Such an agreement as that made at the peace of Augsburg could not possibly be approved by the rigid orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. Pallavicini accordingly bemoans the "detrimenti gravissimi" resulting from it to the Holy See; he

compares it with a palliative which only brings on a more dangerous crisis. He had nevertheless found the report of a nuncio in relation to it, by whom its necessity was clearly perceived. This was Delfino, bishop of Liesina. Pallavicini brings forward the report presented by that bishop to Cardinal Caraffa, and has, in fact, made use of it. But in what manner has he done this?

All the reasons by which Delfino proves the absolute necessity for this agreement, are changed by Pallavicini into so many excuses alleged by the Emperor Ferdinand in his own behalf.

The nuncio says, that there was at that time no prince and no city which had not some quarrel with their neighbours; these he specifies, and declares that the land was going to ruin;—Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxony, as if constituting an opposition diet, affirmed that they would hold together. The king had entreated the emperor to make peace with France and to direct his attention to Germany, but he refused to do so. In the midst of all these disorders, the states assembled; the king then confirmed the points on which both parties had agreed, and so joyfully had they done this (sì allegramente), that since the days of Maximilian, Germany had never been so quiet as it then was.

Now on all these matters Pallavicini also touches (l. xiii. c. 13); but how much does he weaken the effect by placing these remarks in the mouth of a prince who is merely seeking to excuse himself!

"Scusavasi egli di cio con addurre che haveva richiesto d'ordini specificati l'imperatore, confortandolo alla pace di Francia, . . . ed havergli ricordato esser questa l'unica arme per franger l'orgoglio de' protestanti, etc." [He excused himself for that by alleging that he had requested specific orders from the emperor exhorting him to peace with France; and had reminded him that this was the only weapon wherewith they could crush the pride of the Protestants, &c.] Let us contrast these ambiguous phrases with the words of Delfino. "Il ser^mo re vedendo questi andamenti (the religious dissensions) scrisse a S. M^tà Cesarea esortandola alla pace col christianissimo, accioche ella possa attendere alle cose di

Germania e farsi ubedire, etc." [The most serene king, beholding these proceedings, wrote to his imperial majesty, entreating him to make peace with the most Christian king, to the end that he might attend to the affairs of Germany, and might make himself obeyed, &c.]

It is without doubt a great inaccuracy, and in a writer who boasts so loudly of his authentic information, altogether unpardonable, that he should convert the relation of a nuncio into the exculpation of a prince; but the worst aspect of this proceeding is, that the correct view of the occurrence becomes obscured by it.

The whole of the documents used are generally translated from the style of the sixteenth century into that of the seventeenth; but they are dishonestly treated.

4. If we confine ourselves to the relations existing between the pope and Ferdinand I, we have still some few remarks to make. We know that the emperor pressed and wished for a reform which was not very agreeable to the pope. In the course of the first months of the year 1563, Pius twice sent his nuncios—first Commendone, and afterwards Morone—to Innsbruck, where the emperor resided at that time, in the hope of prevailing on him to desist from his opposition. These were very remarkable missions, and had important consequences as regarded the council. The manner in which Pallavicini (xx. 4) has given the reports of these missions is an interesting subject of observation. We have the report of Commendone, Feb. 19, 1563, which Pallavicini had also before him.

And respecting this we have first to remark, that Pallavicini materially weakens the expressions employed at the imperial court, as well as the purposes entertained there. With regard to the alliance subsisting at that time between the emperor and the French, as represented by the Cardinal of Lorraine, he makes Commendone say, "Rendersi credibile che scambievolmente si confirmerebbono nel parer e si prometterebbono ajuto nell' operare." [It was to be expected that they would confirm each other in opinion, and promise aid each to the other in their undertakings.] Commendone expresses himself in a totally different manner. The imperial court did not merely propose to seek reform in common

with the French : " Pare che pensino trovar modo e forma di haver più parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giuntamente con Francesi." [They seem intent on ways and means for securing the greater weight and authority in the present council, that, in conjunction with France, they may carry through all their measures.]

But there are many things that Pallavicini omits entirely. An opinion prevailed at the imperial court that, with a more conciliatory disposition and by more earnest reforms, much better progress might have been made and more good effected with regard to the Protestants. " La somma è che a me pare di haver veduto non pur in S. M^tà^ ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod remittendo aliquid de jure positivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una opinione et impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliano riforma." [The sum of the matter is, that I think I have seen, not indeed in his majesty, but in the principal ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest desire for reform and for the progress of the council, with a firm hope that by remitting somewhat of the positive law, and by the reform of morals and discipline in the church, they might not only preserve the Catholics in their faith, but even win over and bring back heretics; but there is also too fixed an opinion and impression that there are some here who are resolved against all reform.] I will not attempt to discover who those Protestants may have been from whom there was ground for expecting a return to the Catholic church in the event of a regular reform; but these remarks are much too offensive to the courtier prelate to permit of Pallavicini's reporting them. Allusion being made to the difficulties found in the council, Seld answered laconically: " Oportuisset ab initio sequi sana consilia." The complaints in respect of difficulties presented by the council are reported by Pallavicini, but he suppresses the reply.

But, on the other side, he gives at full length a

judgment pronounced by the chancellor in favour of the Jesuits.

In short, he dwells on whatever is agreeable to him, but ignores whatever does not suit himself and the Curia; or he tries to give the matter a favourable turn. For example, the legates were opposed to the purpose of the bishops, who desired to exclude abbots and the generals of religious orders from voting on the question (vox decisiva), "per non sdegnar tante migliara de' religiosi, fra' quali in verità si trova oggi veramente la teologia" [*that they might not give offence to so many thousands of the regular clergy*, among whom, in fact, the true theology must nowadays be sought]. (Registro di Cervini, Lettera di 27 Decem. 1545. Epp. Poli, iv. 229.) Here Pallavicini takes occasion to set forth the motives actuating their decision in a light very honourable both to the bishops and the orders. "Il che (the admission of the generals, that is) desideravano, perche in effetto la teologia, con la quale si doveva decidere i dogmi, resedeva ne' regolari, ed era opportuno e dicevole che molti de' giudici havessero intelligenza esquisita di articoli da giudicarsi" (VI. ii. 1, p. 576). [They desired the admission of the regular clergy, because it was among them that the theology, whereby the tenets in dispute were to be judged, had taken up its abode, and it was manifestly desirable that many of the judges should possess the clearest comprehension and the most finished judgment respecting the articles to be submitted to their decision.]

5. Now it is obvious that this method cannot have failed to impair the accuracy of the views presented by Pallavicini to his reader.

For example, in the year 1547, the Spaniards brought forward certain articles of reform known under the name of Censures. The transfer of the council followed very soon afterwards, and there can be no question as to the fact that this event was greatly influenced by these Censures. It was, without doubt, of the utmost significance that the immediate adherents of the Emperor Charles should present demands so extraordinary at the very moment when he was victorious. Sarpi has given them at full length, lib. ii. p. 262, subjoining the replies of the pontiff shortly after. But demands so

outrageous on the part of orthodox prelates do not suit the purpose of Pallavicini. He tells us that Sarpi relates many circumstances concerning this matter, of which he can find no trace; and says he can discover nothing more than a reply of the pope to certain proposals of reform presented to him by several fathers, and which had been made known to him by the president, "sopra varie riformazioni proposte da molti de' padri" (lib. ii. c. 9). What these were he takes good care not to say. To have done so might have impeded him in his refutation of Sarpi's assertion that the transfer of the council was attributable to worldly motives.

6. In the art of holding his peace in relation to such matters as may not conveniently be made public, he has proved himself quite a master.

In the third book, for example, he has occasionally cited a Venetian report by Suriano. And in allusion to this report, he says that the author asserts himself to have made diligent search, and acquired unquestionable information respecting the treaties between Francis and Clement; nor does Pallavicini think of contradicting him on this point (III. c. xii. n. 1). He adopts portions of Suriano's work, on the contrary, and gives them in his own narrative; such, for example, as that Clement had shed tears of pain and anger on hearing that his nephew was taken prisoner by the emperor. It is evident, in short, that he puts faith in Suriano's statements. He declares also that this Venetian is directly opposed to his countryman Sarpi. The latter affirms, namely, that "il papa negotiò confederazione col re di Francia, la quale si concluse e stabilì anco col matrimonio di Henrico secondogenito regio e di Catarina" [the pope negotiated an alliance with the King of France, which was rendered more stable, and concluded by the marriage of Henry, the second son of the king, with Catherine]. Respecting this matter Pallavicini exclaims aloud. "The pope," says he, "did not ally himself with the king, as P. Soave so boldly maintains." He appeals to Guicciardini and Suriano. Now what does Suriano say? He traces at great length the whole course of the inclination of Clement towards the French, shews when and where it began, how decidedly political a colour it bore, and finally speaks of

the negotiations at Bologna. He certainly denies that matters had proceeded to the formation of an actual treaty, but he merely refutes the assertion that a positive draft in writing was prepared. "Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli fanno credere, S. S^tà esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza però far provisione alcuna in scrittura." He subsequently relates that the king had pressed for the fulfilment of the promises then made to him. "S. M^tà chr^ma dimandò che da S. S^tà li fussino osservate le promesse." And this, according to the same author, was one of the causes of Clement's death. Here we have the extraordinary case of falsehood being in a certain sense truer than the truth itself. There is no doubt that Sarpi is wrong, where he says that an alliance was concluded; the treaty, commonly so called, never was put into legal form. Pallavicini is right in denying the existence of this treaty; and yet, upon the whole, Sarpi comes much nearer to the truth. There was the closest union, but it was entered into verbally only, and not by written forms.

7. Similar circumstances may be remarked in the use made by Pallavicini of the letters of Visconti. Sarpi has sometimes borrowed more from these letters than is literally contained in them: for example, he says, vii. 657, speaking of the decree for enforcing residence, that the Cardinal of Lorraine had spoken at great length and very indistinctly, so that it was not possible to ascertain whether he was favourable, upon the whole, to that decree or not. Hereupon he is stoutly attacked by Pallavicini: "Si scorge apertamente il contrario" (xix. c. 8); he even cites Visconti to support his contradiction. But let us hear Visconti himself: "Perchè s'allargò molto, non poterò seguire se non pochi prelati." (Trento, 10 Dec. in Mansi, Misc. Baluzii, iii. p. 454.) [None but a few prelates could follow his words, because he enlarged greatly.] Thus it was perfectly true that his hearers could not follow him, and that his meaning was not properly understood. Further on Pallavicini is enraged with Sarpi for having given it to be understood that the cardinal had refrained from appearing in one of the congregations, because he desired to leave the French at full liberty to

express their opinions, and that he made the intelligence he had received of the death of the king of Navarre his pretext for absenting himself. Pallavicini protests, with vehemence, that this was the true and sole motive of the cardinal. "Nè io trovo in tante memorie piene di sospetto, che ciò capitasse in mente a persona." (*Ibid.*) [Nor do I find among so many records full of suspicions that this had ever occurred to any one.] How, was there no one in whose mind this absence had awakened suspicion? Visconti says, in a letter published by Mansi in another place: "Lorraine called those prelates, and told them that they were to speak freely of all they had in their minds without fear of any one; and there were some who thought that the cardinal had remained at home for that express purpose." Of the assertion that the cardinal had used the king's death as a pretext, it is true that Visconti says nothing, unless, indeed, he did so in other letters; which is the more probable, from the fact that Sarpi had evidently other sources of information under his eyes at this place. But as to the true point in question, that the cardinal was suspected of remaining at home for the reason assigned, that is certainly to be found literally expressed in these writings. And what are we to say to this, since Pallavicini unquestionably saw them?

8. The general purpose of Pallavicini is, in fact, to refute his opponent without having any interest in the question as to how truth might best be brought to light. This is in no case more obvious than in that part of his work which relates to the conference of Ratisbon, of which we have already treated so fully. Pallavicini also was acquainted with the Instruction here referred to, as will be readily imagined, only he considered it to be more secret than it really was; but from the mode in which he handles it, we gain a perfect acquaintance with himself. He makes a violent attack on Sarpi, and reproaches him for representing the pope to declare that he would accord entire satisfaction to the Protestants, provided they would agree with him in the main points already established of the Catholic tenets: "Che ove i Luterani convenissero ne' punti già stabiliti della chiesa romana, si offeriva nel resto di porger ogni sodisfattione alla Germania." He affirms this assertion of Sarpi's to be directly

contrary to the truth: "Questo è dirimpetto contrario al primo capo dell' Instruttione." How! Can he venture to affirm that the opposite of this was the truth? The pope's Instruction is thus expressed: "Videndum est an in principiis nobiscum conveniant, . . . quibus admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur," and the other words which have been quoted above. It is true that Sarpi has here fallen into an error by restricting the legate more closely than the truth would demand. He has also said too little of the conciliatory disposition of the pope. Instead of discovering this error, as it most obviously was, Pallavicini describes Sarpi as saying too much. He enters into a distinction between articles of faith and others, which had not been made in the bull, and brings forward a number of things which are true indeed, but which are not the only things that are true, and cannot do away with the words really to be found in the Instruction, nor invalidate their force. In matters altogether unessential, he is strictly correct; but he totally misrepresents and distorts things of vital importance. Nay, we sometimes find him attempting to convict Sarpi of intentional and deliberate falsehood,—for example, i. iv. 13: "Mentisce Soave, con attribuire ad arte de' pontefici l'essersi tirato il convento in lungo, senza effetto." [Soave asserts a falsehood, when he attributes the long extension of the diet (of Worms), without having produced any effectual result, to the acts of the popes.] Yet it is clear that such was the case, as results from the whole correspondence of Morone relating to that convention, as we now have it before us. In short, Pallavicini proceeds as might an advocate who had undertaken to carry through his sorely-pressed client, on every point, and at whatever cost. He labours hard to place him in the best light, and brings forward all that seems likely to help his course; but whatever he thinks likely to do it injury, he not only leaves out of view, but directly denies its existence.

It would be impossible to follow Pallavicini through all the lengthened discussions into which he enters; it must suffice that we have made ourselves acquainted, to a certain extent, with his manner.

It must be allowed that we do not gather from our

researches the most encouraging results as regards the history of the council.

It has indeed been affirmed, that from these two works combined, the truth may be elicited. This may perhaps be maintained if we confine our remarks to very general views, and regard the subject merely as a whole; but when we examine particulars, we find that it is not the case.

These authors both deviate from the truth; this lies between them, without doubt, but we can never obtain it by conjecture. Truth is something positive; it is an independent and original existence; it is not by a mere reconciliation of conflicting assertions that we can arrive at truth,—we acquire it only by a perception of the actual fact.

Sarpi, as we have seen, affirms that a treaty was concluded at Bologna; Pallavicini denies it: now from no conjecture in the world could we deduce the fact that the treaty was made, but verbally only and not in writing, by which the contradiction certainly is reconciled.

The Instruction given to Contarini is misrepresented by them both; their discrepancies can never be brought into harmony; it is only by examining the original that we can arrive at the truth.

They possessed minds of totally opposite character. Sarpi is acute, penetrating, and sarcastic; his arrangement is exceedingly skilful, his style pure and unaffected; and although the Crusca would not admit him into the catalogue of classic writers,—probably on account of certain provincialisms to be found in his works,—yet are his writings, after the pompous display of words through which we have to wind our way in other authors, a true enjoyment. His style is well adapted to his subject, and in power of description he is, without doubt, entitled to the second place among the modern historians of Italy. I rank him immediately after Machiavelli.

Neither is Pallavicini devoid of talent. He frequently makes ingenious parallels, and often defends his party with considerable address. But his intellect has something weighty and cumbrous in its character. His talent was for the most part displayed in making phrases and devising subterfuges: his style is overloaded with words. Sarpi is

clear and transparent to the very bottom. Pallavicini is not without a certain flow of manner, but he is obscure, diffuse, and shallow.

Both are positive and thorough-going partisans. The true spirit of the historian, which, apprehending every circumstance and object in its purest truth, thus seizes and places it in the full light of day,—this was possessed by neither. Sarpi was doubtless endowed with the talent required, but he would never desist from accusing. Pallavicini had talent also, though in a much lower degree; but at every cost he is resolved on defending.

Nor can we obtain, even from both these writers together, a thorough and complete view of their subject. A circumstance that must be ever remarkable, is the fact that Sarpi contains much which Pallavicini never succeeded in eliciting, numerous as were the archives and resources of all kinds laid open to his research. I will but instance one memoir, that of the nuncio Chieregato, concerning the deliberations at the court of Adrian VI, which is of the highest importance, and against which Pallavicini makes exceptions that signify absolutely nothing. Pallavicini also passes over many things from a sort of incapacity; he does not perceive the extent of their importance, and so he allows them to drop. But, on the other hand, Sarpi was excluded from innumerable documents which Pallavicini possessed. Of the correspondence maintained by the Roman court with the legates, for example, Sarpi saw but a small portion. His errors are for the most part attributable to the want of original sources of information.

But there were many important documents to which neither of them had recourse. There is a short report of Cardinal Morone, who conducted the decisive embassy despatched to Ferdinand I, which is of the highest moment in regard to the history of all the later sittings of the council. This was not used by either of our authors.

Nor must it be imagined that Rainaldus or Le Plat have completely supplied this deficiency. Rainaldus frequently gives no more than extracts from Pallavicini. Le Plat often follows the latter or Sarpi, word for word, and takes the Latin translations of their text as authentic memorials of

what he could not find authority for elsewhere. He has also used fewer unprinted materials than might have been expected. In Mendham's "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," there is much that is new and good. We find in p. 181, for example, an extract from the acts of Paleotto, together with his introductions, even to individual sessions, as the 20th, for instance; but he has not given due care to the study and elaboration of his subject.

Would any one now undertake a new history of the council of Trent,—a thing which is not to be very confidently expected, since the subject has lost much of its interest,—he must begin anew from the very commencement. He must collect the several negotiations, and the discussions of the different congregations, of which very little that is authentic has been made known; he must also procure the despatches of one or other of the ambassadors who were present. Then only could he obtain a complete view of his subject, or be in a condition to examine the two antagonistic writers who have already attempted this history. But this is an undertaking that will never be entered on, since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done, and will therefore not make the attempt; and those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means.

SECTION III

TIMES OF THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION DOWN TO SIXTUS V

We return to our manuscripts, in which we find information which, even when fragmentary, is at least authentic and unfalsified.

No. 22

Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinae, Pauli III, ad regem Romanorum nuntio destinato. 24 *Oct.*, 1536. MS. Barberini Library, 3007, 15 leaves.

A conclusive proof is afforded by this Instruction of the sense entertained by the Roman court that it was highly needful to collect its strength and take heed to its reputation. The following rules were prescribed, among others, to the nuncio. He was neither to be too liberal nor too sparing, neither too grave nor too gay; he was not to make known his spiritual authority by notices affixed to the church doors, since he might thereby cause himself to be derided. Those who required his intervention, could find him without that. He was not indeed entirely to remit his dues, except under peculiar circumstances, but he was never to exact them too eagerly. He was to contract no debts, and was to pay for what was supplied him at inns. "Nec hospitii pensione nimis parce vel fortasse etiam nequaquam soluta discedat, id quod ab aliquibus nuntiis aliis factum plurimum animos eorum populorum in nos irritavit. . . . In vultu et colloquiis omnem timorem aut causae nostrae diffidentiam dissimulet. . . . Hilari quidem vultu accipere se fingant invitationes, sed in respondendo modum non excedant, ne id forte mali iis accidat quod cuidam nobili Saxoni, camerario secreto q.

Leonis X (Miltitz), qui ob Lutheranam causam componendam in Saxoniam missus, id tantum fructus reportavit, quod saepe, perturbatus vino, ea effutire de pontifice et Romana curia a Saxonibus inducebatur non modo quae facta erant, sed quae ipsi e malae in nos mentis affectu imaginabantur et optabant; et ea omnia scriptis excipientes postea in conventu Vormatiensi nobis publice coram tota Germania exprobrabant."

We learn from Pallavicini also (i. 18), that the conduct of Miltitz had caused his memory to be held in very little respect at the court of Rome.

The Instruction we are now considering, and which Rainaldus has adopted almost entire into his work (xxi. 19), is further remarkable from the fact that it supplies us with the names of many less known defenders of Catholicism in Germany; among them are Leonh. Marstaller, Nicol. Appel, Joh. Burchard, the Dominican, "qui etsi nihil librorum ediderit contra Lutheranos, magno tamen vitae periculo ab initio usque hujus tumultus pro defensione ecclesiae laboravit." Among those better known, Ludwig Berus, who had fled from Basle to Freiburg in Breisgau, is particularly extolled and recommended to the nuncio, "tum propter sanam et excellentem hominis doctrinam et morum probitatem, tum quia sua gravitate et autoritate optime operam navare poterit in causa fidei." It is well known that Berus had found means to make himself respected, even among Protestants.

No. 23

Instruttione mandata da Roma per l'elettione del luogo del concilio, 1537. [Instruction sent from Rome for the selection of the place wherein the council is to be held, 1537.] Informationi Politt. vol. xii.

It was now without doubt the intention of Paul III to convoke a council. In the Instruction before us he affirms that he was fully resolved (tutto risoluto) on doing so; but his wish was that it should be assembled in Italy. He was equally disposed to choose either Piacenza or Bologna, places belonging to the Church, the common mother of all;

or he would have been content to select a city of the Venetians, since they were the common friends of all. His reason was that the Protestants were by no means earnest in regard to the council, as was manifest from the conditions which they proposed respecting it. Even here we perceive the presence of that idea which afterwards acquired so high an historical importance, namely, that the council was only an affair of the Catholics among themselves.

The pontiff, moreover, gives intelligence to the emperor of his efforts for the promotion of an internal reform: "Sarà con effetto e non con parole." [It shall be effectual, and not a matter of words only.]

No. 24

Instruttione data da Paolo III al C^l^ Montepulciano, destinato all' imperatore Carlo V sopra le cose della religione in Germania, 1539. [Instruction given by Paul III to Cardinal Montepulciano, on his embassy to the Emperor Charles V to treat of the religious affairs of Germany, 1539.] Corsini Library, No. 467.

It was, nevertheless, most evident that the necessity for a reconciliation was first made obvious in Germany. On some occasions both parties were placed in opposition to the pope from this cause. At the convention of Frankfurt very important concessions were made to the Protestants by the imperial ambassador, Johann Wessel, archbishop of Lund,—a truce of fifteen months, during which all judicial proceedings of the Kammergericht should be suspended, and the promise of a religious conference, in which the pope should take no part. This was of course altogether abhorrent to Paul III. Cardinal [Cervini of] Montepulciano, afterwards Marcellus II, was therefore despatched into Germany for the purpose of preventing so uncatholic an arrangement.

The Instruction accuses the archbishop of Lund, in the first place, of being moved by corrupt personal motives, attributing his compliant conduct to gifts, promises, and

hopes of further advancement. "La communità d'Augusta gli donò 2,500 fiorini d'oro, poi gli fu fatta promissione di 4,000 f. singulis annis sopra il frutto del suo arcivescovato di Lunda occupato per quel re Luterano." [He received 2,500 gold florins from Augsburg, and a promise was made to him in addition of 4,000 florins yearly, to be paid out of the revenues of his archbishopric of Lund, then occupied by that Lutheran king of Denmark.] He was further said to be desirous of remaining on good terms with the duke of Cleves and Queen Mary of Hungary; for this sister of the emperor, who was then governor of the Netherlands, was suspected of being very decidedly favourable to the Protestants. "Secretamente presta favore alla parte de' Luterani, animandogli ove può, o con mandarli huomini a posta disfavoreggia la causa de' cattolici." [She secretly shews favour to the Lutheran party, encouraging them to the utmost of her power, and by sending men to their aid she purposely injures the cause of the Catholics.] She had sent an envoy to Schmalkalden, and expressly exhorted the elector of Trier to abstain from joining the Catholic league.

Mary and the archbishop, that is to say, represented the anti-French and anti-papal tendency of politics in the imperial court. They wished to see Germany united under the emperor. The archbishop declared that this depended only on the yielding of some few religious concessions: "Che se S. M^tà volesse tolerare che i Luterani stassero nei loro errori, disponeva a modo e voler suo di tutta Germania." [That if his majesty would tolerate the persistence of the Lutherans in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany according to his own manner and pleasure.]

The pope replied, that there were very different means of settling matters in Germany. Let us listen to his own words.

"The diet of Frankfurt being therefore dispersed and broken up for the aforesaid causes, and his imperial majesty, with other Christian princes, being advised that because of the evil dispositions of these times a general council cannot for the present be held, our lord the pope, notwithstanding that he had so long before proclaimed this council, and has used every effort and means for convening it, is now of

opinion that his majesty would do well to think rather of the convocation of an imperial diet for the prevention of those evils which are so especially to be expected to arise out of a national Council. And his holiness believes that such evils might easily be brought about to the disturbance of quiet in Germany, both by Catholics and Lutherans, when the Catholics, having seen infinite disorders following on the proceedings of any royal and imperial minister, should also perceive that their majesties were slow to apply the remedies. Nor would the said national council be less injurious to the imperial and royal majesty, for those secret causes of which his majesty is aware, than to the Apostolic See; for it would not fail to give occasion to a schism throughout all Christendom, as well in temporal as in spiritual government. But while his holiness is of opinion that this imperial diet may be held in the event of his majesty's being able to be present, either in Germany or in some place near to that wherein the said diet shall assemble, he is convinced that it ought not to be convoked, if, on the contrary, his imperial majesty, engaged by his other occupations, should not be able to continue thus close at hand. Nor would his holiness advise that his majesty should depend on the judgment of others, however numerous, capable, or good, who should solicit and endeavour to procure the holding of the said diet in the absence of his majesty; lest the same disorders should ensue that have followed upon other special diets where his majesty was not present. It will, nevertheless, be advisable that the report should be continually bruited about from all quarters that his majesty intends to appear in Germany and there hold the diet. All other honest means and ways should likewise be used to restrain and keep in tranquillity those princes who solicit and demand the said diet; then when his majesty shall arrive in good earnest, he may proclaim and hold the same. But meanwhile, his majesty, perceiving how good and useful it may be to promote the propagation of the Catholic league, should for the present give his attention principally to that matter, and he might write to his ambassador in Germany to that effect; or if it seem good to him, may send other envoys who should labour with all

diligence, and by every possible means, to increase and extend the said Catholic league by acquiring and gaining over every one, and this, even though at first *they should not be altogether sincere in the true religion*, for by little and little they may afterwards be brought to order; besides that for the present it is of more consequence that we take from their ranks, than that we add to ours. And for the furtherance of this purpose, it would greatly avail if his majesty would send into Germany whatever sums of money he can possibly command, because the rumour of this, being extended through the country, would confirm others in their purpose of entering the league, which they would do the more readily on perceiving that the chief sinews of war are not wanting. And for the more effectual consolidation of the said Catholic league, his holiness will himself despatch one or more emissaries to the Catholic princes, to encourage them in like manner by promises of aid in money, and other benefits, when things shall have proceeded to such an extent for the advancement of religion and the preservation of the dignity, both of the Apostolic See and of his imperial majesty, as to give warrant that there is good ground for expecting the outlay to produce its fruit. Nor in this will his holiness be forgetful of his majesty. And it would not be ill-advised, that among these means his majesty should adopt the pretext of the Turkish affairs, to send, under that colour, a certain number of Spanish and Italian troops into those parts, and by retaining them in the territories of his brother, the king of the Romans, to secure that in case of need there should be due assistance at hand."

Pallavicini was acquainted with this Instruction as well as with the preceding one (lib. iv. c. 14). We perceive, from what he says, that the notices relating to Germany in the latter of these documents were obtained from the letters of Aleander, who acquired so equivocal a reputation for himself in these negotiations. Rainaldus also gives extracts from them; but this very instance will serve to shew how needful it is to consult original authorities. In Rainaldus, the rather obscure passage just quoted reads as follows: "Interea omni studio catholicorum foedus augere atque ad

se nonnullos ex adversariis pellicere niteretur, mitteret etiam aurum militare ut foederatis adderet animos fluctuantesque ad se pertraheret."

No. 25

Instructiones pro rev^mo dom^no episcopo Mutinensi apostolico nuntio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spirae, 12 *Maji*, 1540, *celebrando.* [Instructions for the bishop of Modena, apostolic nuncio to the German conference at Spires.] Barberini Library, 3,007.

The religious conferences nevertheless took place. We here see the light in which they were regarded at Rome:

"Neque mirum videatur alicui si neque legatis neque nuntiis plenaria facultas et autoritas decidendi aut concordandi in causa fidei detur, quia maxime absurdum esset et ab omni ratione dissentaneum, quin imo difficile et quam maxime periculosum, sacros ritus et sanctiones, per tot annorum censuras ab universali ecclesia ita receptas, ut si quid in his innovandum esset, id nonnisi universalis concilii decretis vel saltem summi pontificis ecclesiae moderatoris mature et bene discussa deliberatione fieri debeat, paucorum etiam non competentium judicio et tam brevi ac praecipiti tempore et in loco non satis idoneo committi.

"Debet tamen rev. dom. nuntius domi suae seorsim intelligere a catholicis doctoribus ea omnia quae inter ipsos et doctores Lutheranos tractabuntur, ut suum consilium prudentiamque interponere et ad bonum finem omnia dirigere possit, salva semper sanctissimi Domini Nostri et apostolicae sedis autoritate et dignitate, ut saepe repetitum est, quia hinc salus universalis ecclesiae pendet, ut inquit D. Hieronymus. Debet idem particulariter quadam cum dexteritate et prudentia catholicos principes, tam ecclesiasticos quam saeculares, in fide parentum et majorum suorum confirmare, et ne quid in ea temere et absque apostolicae sedis autoritate, ad quam hujusmodi examen spectat, innovari aut immutari patiantur, eos commonefacere."

No. 26

Instructio data rev^mo Card^li Contareno in Germaniam legato. 28 *Jan.* 1541. [Instruction given to Cardinal Contarini, legate in Germany.]

This has been already printed, and is often mentioned. The Roman court was at length induced to make certain concessions.

Between the years 1541 and 1551, our collection contains a number of letters, reports, and instructions by no means inconsiderable; they comprehend all parts of Europe, and not unfrequently throw a new light on events. They cannot, however, be investigated in detail here, for the book which these extracts would further illustrate was not designed to give a complete representation of that period. I confine myself, therefore, without much scruple, to the more important.

No. 27

1551 *die* 20 *Junii, in senatu Matthaeus Dandulus, eques, ex Roma orator.*

The above is the title of the report presented by Matteo Dandolo,—who, as we see from the letters of Cardinal Pole (ed. Quir. ii. p. 90), was brother-in-law to Gaspar Contarini,—after a residence of twenty-six months in Rome. He promises to be brief: "Alle relationi non convengono delle cose che sono state scritte se non quelle che sono necessarie di esser osservate."

He treats first of the latter days of Paul III. Of this part I have already cited the most important facts. He then speaks of the conclave, and all the cardinals are mentioned by name. Dandolo asserts that he arrived with members of the college belonging to the university of Padua: we see how well he must have been informed. And he gives us various interesting particulars, some of which I reproduced in the early editions. These extracts I can now omit, as

Tommaso has printed the whole report in the Florentine collection, vii. 333–360, from transcripts which, though imperfect, *e.g.* in the reckoning of the papal income, are yet better than the one I used.

No. 28

Vita di Marcello II, scritta di propria mano del Signor Alex. Cervini, suo fratello. [Life of Marcellus II, written by his brother Signor Alex. Cervini, with his own hand.] Alb. No. 157.

There is a most useful little work respecting Pope Marcellus II by Pietro Polidoro, 1744. Among the sources whence this author derived his work, we find the very first that he mentions to be this biography by Alex. Cervini. Unfortunately, however, the original copy was greatly injured so early as the year 1598, by a fire that broke out in the family residence at Montepulciano, and we have but a fragment of it remaining. I extract from it the following passage, which refers to the attempt at a reformation of the calendar made under Leo X, and is not to be found in Polidoro :—

"His father, therefore, having accustomed him to these habits, and exercised him in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and geometry, it chanced that he became also much versed in natural astrology, and more than he would have been in the ordinary course of things, the cause of which was as follows :—His holiness our lord, who was pope at that time, Leo X, caused to be made known by public edict that whoever might possess a rule or method for correcting the year, which up to that time had got wrong by eleven days, should make it known to his holiness ; wherefore the above-mentioned M^r. Riccardo (father of the pope), as one who was tolerably well versed in that profession, applied himself to obey the pontiff, and therefore by long and diligent observation, and with the aid of his instruments, he sought and found the true course of the sun, as appears from his essays and sketches sent to Pope Leo X, to whom, and to that most

glorious house of Medici, he had ever shewn faithful service; more particularly to the magnificent Giuliano, from whom he had received favours and great offers. The death of that Signor prevented the fulfilment of the design that Mr. Riccardo should attend the person of his excellency into France, or wherever else he might go, as had been agreed between them. Neither could our lord his holiness carry out the publication of the correction of the year, because of various impediments, and finally, because of his own death, which followed not long after."

We see how the minds of the Italians were actively employed on this matter, even in the times of Leo X; and that the bishop of Fossombrone, who recommended the reform of the calendar in the Lateran council of 1513, was not the only person who gave attention to the subject.

No. 29

Antonio Caracciolo, Vita di Papa Paolo IV. 2 vols. fol.

Antonio Caracciolo, a Theatine, a Neapolitan, and a compiler all his life, could not fail to apply himself diligently to the history of the most renowned Neapolitan pope, the founder of the Theatines, Paul IV, and we owe him our best thanks for doing so. He has brought together a vast amount of information, and innumerable details, which but for him would have been lost. His book forms the groundwork of Carlo Bromato's elaborate performance: "Storia di Paolo IV, Pontefice Massimo, Rome, 1748," which presents an exceedingly rich collection of materials, in two thick and closely-printed quartos.

But, from the rigid severity of the censorship exercised in the Catholic church, there resulted the inevitable consequence that Bromato could by no means venture to admit all the information afforded him by the sources to which he applied.

I have frequently alluded to a circumstantial report of G. P. Caraffa to Clement VII on the condition of the Church, prepared in the year 1532. From this Bromato (i. p. 205)

makes a long extract. But he has also made several omissions, and that of matters most particularly essential; for example, the remarks on the extension of Lutheran opinions in Venice.

"Let his holiness be implored that, for the honour of God and his own, this city not being the least or the vilest object in Christendom, and there being in the said city and in her dominions many and many thousands of souls committed to his holiness, he will be content to hear from a faithful witness some portion of their wants, which are indeed very great, but of which there shall be now set forth at least some part; and because, as the apostle saith, without faith it is impossible to please God, you shall begin with this, and acquaint his holiness with the heresies and errors in the life and conduct of many who do not keep Lent, do not go to confession, &c.—in the doctrine of others, who publicly speak of and profess these heresies, putting about also prohibited books among the people, without respect to rule. But above all, you will say that this pestilence, as well of the Lutheran heresy as of every other error, contrary to the faith and to sound morals, is chiefly disseminated and increased by two sorts of persons, that is to say, by the apostates themselves, and by certain friars, chiefly "conventuali." Also his holiness should be made aware of that accursed nest of conventuals, the Minorite Friars; for he by his goodness having restricted some of his servants who would have moved in this matter, these friars have begun to put all in confusion; for, having been disciples of a heretic monk, now dead, they have determined to do honour to their master. . . . And, to say what are my thoughts in this matter, it appears to me that in so great an emergency we ought not to confine ourselves to the usual method, but, as in the menacing and increasing fury of war, new expedients are daily adopted, as the occasion demands, so in this still more important spiritual warfare, we should not waste our time in sleep. And since it is known to his holiness that the office of the Inquisition in this province is in the hands of those conventuals aforesaid, the Minorite Friars, who will only by chance and occasionally persuade themselves to perform any real and fitting inquisition, such as

was exercised by that master Martino da Treviso, of whose diligence and faith I know that his holiness was informed by the above-named bishop of Pola, of honoured memory,—since he has been now transferred to another office, and is succeeded in the Inquisition by I know not whom, but, so far as I can learn, a very insufficient person, it will therefore be needful that his holiness should take the requisite measures, partly by arousing and exciting the ordinaries, who are everywhere no better than asleep, and partly by deputing some persons of authority to this country, and sending hither some legate, who, if it were possible, should be free from ambition and cupidity, that so he might apply himself to repair the honour and credit of the Apostolic See, punishing those rascal heretics, or at least driving them away from the midst of the poor Christians; for wherever they shall go they will carry with them the testimony of their own wickedness, and of the goodness of the faithful Catholics, who will not have them in their company. And since the pest of heresy is for the most part introduced by preaching, by heretical books, and by a long continuance in an evil and dissolute life, from which the passage to heresy is easy, it seems that his holiness would make a holy, honourable, and useful provision by taking measures in this respect."

There are other notices of more or less importance contained in the work of Caracciolo, which have for the most part remained unknown, but which, in a work of greater detail than that here presented to the reader, ought not to be passed over. This Italian biography is wholly distinct from another of Caracciolo's writings, the "Collectanea historica de Paolo IV:" it is an entirely different, and much more useful work. There are, nevertheless, some things in the Collectanea which are also to be found in the "Vita;" as, for example, the description of the changes which Paul IV proposed to make after he had dismissed his nephews.

No. 30

Relatione di M. Bernardo Navagero alla S^ma Rep^ca di Venetia tornando di Roma ambasciatore appresso del pontefice Paolo IV 1558. [Report presented to the Republic of Venice by M. Bernardo Navagero, ambassador to Paul IV, on his return from Rome.]

This is one of the Venetian Reports which obtained a general circulation. It was used even by Pallavicini, who was attacked on that account. Rainaldus also mentions it (Annales Eccles. 1557, No. 10), to say nothing of later authors.

It is, without doubt, highly deserving of these honours. Bernardo Navagero enjoyed in Venice the consideration which was due to his learning. We perceive from Foscarini (Della Lett. Ven., p. 255) that he was proposed as historiographer to the republic. In his earlier embassies to Charles V, Henry VIII, and Soliman, he had become practised in the conduct of difficult affairs, as well as in the observation of remarkable characters. He arrived in Rome immediately after the accession of Paul IV.

Navagero describes the qualities required of an ambassador under three heads: understanding, which demands penetration; negotiation, which demands address; and reporting, which requires judgment that he may say only what is necessary and useful.

He commences with remarks on the election and power of a pope. It is his opinion that if the popes would earnestly apply themselves to the imitation of Christ, they would be much more to be feared. He then describes "le conditioni," as he says, "di papa Paolo IV, e di chi lo consiglia," [the qualities of Pope Paul IV, and of those who advise him,]—that is, above all, his three nephews. I have made use of his descriptions, but the author is not always to be followed in his general conclusions. He thinks that even Paul IV had no other object than the exaltation of his own house. Had he written later, after the banishment of the nephews, he would not have expressed such an opinion. That event marked the point of change in the

papal policy, from worldly views to those of a more spiritual character. From personal descriptions, Navagero proceeds to an account of the war between Paul IV and Philip II: this also is quite as happily conceived, and is full of the most intelligent remarks. There next follow a review of the foreign relations of Rome, and reflections on the probable result of a future election. It is only with the most cautious discretion that Navagero proceeds to speak of this matter. "Più," he says, "per sodisfare alle SS. VV. EE. che a me in quella parte." [More to satisfy your excellencies than myself, I speak of this part.] But his conjectures were not wide of the mark. Of the two in regard to whom he perceived the greatest probability of succession, he names, in fact, the one who was elected, Medighis (Medici), although it is true that he considered the other, Puteo, to be a still more likely successor.

"But now," he says, "I am here again. I again behold the countenance of my sovereign, the illustrious republic, in whose service there is nothing so great that I would not venture to attempt it, nothing so mean that I would not undertake it." This expression of devotedness gives heightened colour to the description.

No. 31

Relatione del Cl^mo M. Aluise Mocenigo Cav^re ritornato della corte di Roma, 1560. [Aluise Mocenigo's report of his embassy to Rome.] Venetian Archives.

Mocenigo remained during seventeen months at the court of Paul IV. The conclave lasted four months and eight days: he then conducted the embassy during seven months at the court of Pius IV.

He first describes the ecclesiastical and secular administration, that of justice, and the court under Paul IV. He makes an observation respecting these things, of which I have not ventured to make use, although it suggests many reflections. "I cardinali," he says, "dividono fra loro le città delle legationi (nel conclave): poi continuano in questo modo a beneplacito delli pontefici." [The cardinals

divide the different cities of the legations among themselves (in the conclave), and the arrangement afterwards remains, but subject to the good pleasure of the pope.] May we then consider this the origin of the administration of the state by the clergy which was gradually introduced? In 1563 Pius IV excuses himself on the ground of the needs of the papal treasury, for giving cardinals high places in the civil government. In the speech which he delivered to the cardinals on Dec. 30, 1563, he says: "Quod vero pontificatus initio quibusdam cardinalibus dedimus provincias, quibus ad biennium legationis nomine praeessent, easque illi quadriennium obtinuerunt, cogimur aliquando illo subsidio multas magnasque difficultates sublevare; nam et tenuiores cardinales, quo dignitatis gradum tueri possint, sunt adjuvandi, et providendum aerarii angustiis . . . quare, non modo aequis, sed etiam libentibus, illis cardinalibus, speramus nos illo adjumento provinciarum tot publicis consulturos incommodis; praesertim cum ipsi etiam affines nostri cardinales sint de suis provinciis discessuri." Julii Pogiani epistolae et orationes, ed. ab H. Lagomarsinio, vol. iii. p. 385; Italian version in Pallavicini, xxxiv., a.

Nor does he forget the antiquities, of which Rome possessed a richer abundance at that time than at any other, as is testified by the descriptions of Boissard and Gamucci: "In every place, whether inhabited or uninhabited, that is excavated in Rome, there are found vestiges of noble and ancient structures; also from many places most beautiful statues are dug out. Of marble statues, if all were placed together, there might be made a very large army."

He next comes to the disturbances that broke forth on the death of Paul IV, and were repeated in a thousand fresh disorders, even after they appeared to be allayed. "When the people had ceased, there flocked to the city all the broken men and outlaws, so that nothing was heard of but murders, and some were found, who for eight, seven, or even for six scudi, would take upon themselves the charge of killing a man; and this went to such a degree that many hundred murders were committed in a few days, some from motives of enmity, others on account of lawsuits,—many that they might inherit the property of the murdered, and others

for divers causes, so that Rome seemed, as the saying is, like "il bosco di baccaro."

The conclave was very joyous,—every day there were banquets. Vargas (whose reports on the conclave have now been printed in Döllinger's "Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten sechs Jahrhunderte," i. 265–324) was there whole nights, at least "alli busi del conclave." But the person who really elected the pope was Duke Cosimo of Florence. "The duke of Florence has made him pope; it was he who caused him to be placed among the nominees of King Philip; then by various means he had him recommended by the queen of France; and finally, by great industry and diligence, he gained the Caraffa party to his side." How completely do all these intrigues, described in the histories of the conclaves, lie exposed in their utter nothingness! The authors of these histories, themselves for the most part members of the conclaves, saw only the mutual relations of the individuals with whom they were in contact; the influences acting on them from without were concealed from their perception.

The report concludes with a description of Pius IV, so far as his character had at that time been made manifest.

No. 32

Relatione del Cl^mo M. Marchio Michiel, K^r e Proc., ritornato da Pio IV, sommo pontefice, fatta a 8 di Zugno, 1560. [Report of the embassy of M. Marchio Michiel to Pius IV.]

This is the report of an embassy of congratulation, which was absent from Venice only thirty-nine days, and cost 13,000 ducats. As a report it is very feeble. Michiel exhorts to submission towards Rome. "The jurisdiction of the pope should not be invaded, and that the mind of his holiness may not be disturbed, the avogadors should pay him all those marks of respect that are proper, but which I have often remarked them to omit."

No. 33

Dispacci degli ambasciàtori Veneti, 1560 (May 18 to Sept. 21). Informat. Politt. vol. viii. 272 leaves. *Lettere dell' Amulio* (Sept. 24 to Nov. 28). Inform. Politt. vol. xiii. *Ragguagli dell' ambasciatore Veneto in Roma*, 1561 (end of Jan. to Feb. 25). Inform. Politt. vol. xxxvii. 71 leaves.

The Ragguagli are also despatches, dated January and February, 1561, and are all from Marc Antonio de Mula, who for some time filled the place of ambassador. (See Andreae Mauroceni Hist. Venet. lib. viii. tom. ii. 153.) They are very instructive, giving interesting particulars in regard to the circumstances of the times and the character of Pius IV. The closing fortunes of the Caraffa family occupy a prominent place, and we learn from these documents that Philip II then wished to save these old enemies of his. This was even charged against him as a crime at the court (of Rome). Vargas replied, that Philip II had given them his pardon; "quel gran re, quel santo, quel cattolico non facendo come voi altri" [that great king, that holy and Catholic monarch, not doing as ye Romans do]. The pope, on the contrary, reproached them with the utmost vehemence: "Havere mosse l'arme de Christiani, de Turchi e degl' eretici, . . . e che le lettere che venivano da Francia e dagli agenti in Italia, tutte erano contrafatte, &c." [That they had moved Christians, Turks, and heretics to war, . . . and that the letters which came from France and from the agents in Italy, were all forged, &c.] The pope said he would have given 100,000 scudi to have it proved that they were innocent, but that atrocities such as they had committed could not be endured in Christendom.

I abstain from making extracts from these letters; it will suffice to have intimated the character of their contents.

A beginning has been made with printing the despatches of the ambassadors. Among others, those of the Florentine Averardo Serristori, concerning his missions to Paul III, 1541–1545, 1547–1549; Julius III, 1550–1554; Paul IV, 1555; Pius IV, 1561–1564; Pius V, 1566–1568, were printed in 1851. They are of some value with reference to the Italian relations.

No. 34

Extractus processus cardinalis Caraffae. Inff. vol. ii. pp. 465–516. With the addition: *Haec copia processus formati contra cardinalem Caraffam reducta in summam cum imputationibus fisci eorumque reprobationibus perfecta fuit die. xx Nov.* 1560.

From the ninth article of the defence, under the word "Heresy," we learn that Albrecht of Brandenburg sent a certain Colonel Friedrich to conclude a treaty with Paul IV. The colonel had even an audience of the pope himself; but the cardinal of Augsburg (Otto von Truchsess) made so many objections and representations against him, that he was at length sent out of Rome. See Archivio Storico italiano, vol. xii. pp. 461 *ff.*, where two chapters from the Trial of Caraffa are printed. With this may be mentioned: "El successo de la muerte de los Garrafas con la declaracion y el modo que murieron y el di y hora, 1561."—Inform. ii.

No. 35

Relatione di Girolamo Soranzo del 1563. *Roma.* Venetian Archives.

The date, 1561, which is on the copy in the archives, is, without doubt, incorrect. According to the authentic lists of the embassies, Girolamo was certainly chosen as early as the 22nd of September, 1560, because Mula had accepted an appointment from Pius IV, and had on that account fallen into disgrace with the republic. But that offence was forgiven, and it was not until Mula had been nominated cardinal, in the year 1562, that Soranzo superseded him. The latter frequently makes allusion to the council also, which did not, in fact, sit at all in the year 1561. Alberi also gives the date 1563.

Girolamo Soranzo remarked, that the reports were agreeable as well as useful to the senate: "E volontieri

udite e maturamente considerate." He prepared his own report with pleasure, no less than with diligence. It is printed in the tenth volume of the Florentine Collection of Venetian Reports, so that we need not quote from it here.

Among other things, he throws light on the conversion of the king of Navarre to Catholicism.

No. 36

Instruttione del re cattolico al C^r M^r d'Alcantara, suo ambasciatore, di quello ha da trattar in Roma. Madr. 30 *Nov.* 1562. [Instructions from the Catholic king to his ambassador Alcantara, touching matters to be treated of in Rome.] MS. Rome.

These Instructions are accompanied by the pope's reply. Pallavicini has made satisfactory extracts from this document (Pal. xx. 10), with the exception of the following passage, which he does not appear to have clearly understood. "Circa l'articolo della communione sub utraque specie non restaremo di dire con la sicurtà che sapemo di potere usare con la M^tà Sua, che ci parono cose molto contrarie il dimandar tanta libertà e licenza nel concilio et il volere in un medesimo tempo che noi impediamo detto concilio e che prohibiamo all' imperatore, al re di Francia, al duca di Baviera et ad altri principi che non possano far proponere et questo et molti altri articoli che ricercano attento, che essi sono deliberati et risoluti di farli proponere da suoi ambasciatori e prelati, etiam che fosse contra la volontà dei legati. Sopra il che S. M^tà dovrà fare quella consideratione che le parerà conveniente. Quanto a quello che spetta a noi, havemo differita la cosa fin qui, cercaremo di differirla più che potremo, non ostante le grandi istanze che circa cio ne sono state fatte: e tuttavia se ne fanno dalli sudetti principi, protestandoci che se non se gli concede, perderanno tutti li loro sudditi, quali dicono peccar solo in questo articulo e nel resto esser buoni cattolici, e di più dicono che non essendogli concesso, li piglieranno da se, e si congiungeranno con li settarii vicini e protestanti; da

quali quando ricorrono per questo uso del calice, sono astretti ad abjurare la nostra religione: sicche S. M^ta^ può considerare in quanta molestia e travaglio siamo. Piacesse a Dio che S. M^ta^ cattolica fosse vicina e potessimo parlare insieme ed anche abboccarsi con l'imperatore—havendo per ogni modo S. M^ta^ Cesarea da incontrarsi da noi,—che forse potriamo acconciare le cose del mondo, o nessuno le acconcierà mai se non Dio solo, quando parerà a Sua Divina Maestà." [In regard to the article of communion in both kinds, we do not hesitate to say, with all the freedom that we know we may use towards his majesty, that it appears to us a great contradiction to demand so much liberty and license in the council, and at the same time to desire that we should impede the said council, and should prevent the emperor, the king of France, the duke of Bavaria, and other princes, from having the faculty of proposing this and many other articles, all requiring attention, and which these monarchs have deliberately determined to have proposed by their ambassadors, even though their doing so should be contrary to the will of the legates. With relation to this matter, his majesty must adopt such resolutions as shall appear to him most suitable. As to what concerns ourselves, we have contrived to defer the matter until now, and will do our utmost to prolong the delay, notwithstanding the urgent representations which have been made to us in respect of it, and which continue to be made, by the above-named princes, who protest to us that if it be not conceded to them, they will lose all their subjects, and these commit no fault, as they say, except in this one particular, for in all the rest they are good Catholics. And they further say, that if this privilege be not granted to them, they will take it for themselves, joining with the neighbouring sectaries and the Protestants, by whom, on their having recourse to them for this use of the cup, they are compelled to abjure our religion: let his majesty then consider in how great a strait we are placed, and what perplexity we suffer. Would to God that his Catholic majesty were near us, so that we might speak together, or indeed that we could both meet and confer with the emperor; for his imperial majesty ought, by all means,

to have an interview with us, and perchance we might thus give better order to the affairs of the world; but otherwise, none will ever be able to amend them, save God alone, when it shall seem good to his Divine Majesty.]

No. 37

Instruttione data al S^re^ Carlo Visconti, mandato da papa Pio IV al re cattolico per le cose del concilio di Trento. [Instruction given to Signor Carlo Visconti, sent from Pope Pius IV to the Catholic king, touching the affairs of the Council of Trent.] Signed,—Carolus Borromæus, ultimo Oct. 1563.

This document is not comprised in the collection of the nuncio's letters, which includes those only to Sept. 1563, but is remarkable from the fact that it investigates the motives for closing the council. Pallavicini (xxiv. i. i.) has adopted the greater part of this Instruction, but in an order different from that in which it was written. The most remarkable circumstance here made known, perhaps, is, that it was proposed to bring the affairs of England before the council, a design that was abandoned only from motives of consideration for Philip II. "Up to the present time we have not been willing to speak, or to suffer that the council should speak, of the queen of England (Mary Stuart), much as that subject deserves attention, nor yet of that other (Elizabeth), and this from respect to his Catholic majesty; but still a plan must, at some time, be adopted respecting these things, and his majesty should at least take measures that the bishops and other Catholics may not be molested." It is here rendered manifest that the office of protecting the Catholics of England was imposed as a kind of duty on Philip II.

No. 38

Relatione in scriptis fatta dal Commendone ai S^ri^ Legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dell' imperatore, 19 *Feb.*

1563. [Report made in writing by Commendone to the legates at the Council, in regard to the matters touched upon by the emperor.]

"La somma è che a me pare di aver veduto non pur in S. M^tà ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod remettendo aliquid de jure positivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una opinione o impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliano riforma." [In fact, I thought I could perceive, not indeed in his majesty, but in the principal ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest desire for reform, and for the progress of the council, with a firm hope that by a certain remission of the positive law, and by a reform of the morals and discipline of the Church, not only might the Catholics be preserved, but some of the heretics also might be gained and recovered, together with an opinion or impression, perhaps too powerful, that there were many here who did not wish for reform.]

The activity of the Jesuits in particular had made an impression. "Seldio disse, che li Gesuiti hanno hormai mostrato in Germania quello che si può sperare con effetto, perche solamente con la buona vita e con la prediche e con le scuole loro hanno ritenuto e vi sostengono tuttavia la religione cattolica." [Seld remarked, that the Jesuits have now shewn clearly in Germany what effects may be hoped for, since merely by their purity of life, their preaching, and their schools, they have maintained, and still wholly support, the Catholic religion in that country.]

A learned friend, to whom I am indebted for several similar references for this period, draws my attention to the fact that Commendone's report is printed in "J. Pogiani epistolae et orationes olim collectae at A. M. Gratiano, nunc ab H. Lagomarsinio adnotationibus illustratae," Rome, 1757, vol. iii. pp. 242 *ff.*

No. 39

Relatione sommaria del cardinal Morone sopra la legatione sua, 1564, *Januario*. [Summary Report of Cardinal Morone, touching his embassy in January, 1564.] Altieri Library, VII. F. 3.

This ought properly to be given word for word. Unfortunately I did not find myself in a position to take a copy. The extract that I have inserted in the third book must therefore suffice.

No. 40

Antonio Canossa: On the attempt to assassinate Pius IV. See vol. i. p. 278.

No. 41

Relatione di Roma al tempo di Pio IV e V di Paolo Tiepolo, ambasciatore Veneto. [Report from Rome in relation to the times of Pius IV and V, by Paolo Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador.] First found in MS. at Gotha, afterwards in many other collections. 1568.

This Report is described in almost all the copies as belonging to the year 1567; but since Paolo Tiepolo expressly says that he was thirty-three months at the court of Pius V, and the latter was elected in January, 1566, it is clear that its true date must be some time after September, 1568. The despatches also of this ambassador—the first that were preserved in the Venetian archives—come down to this year.

Tiepolo describes Rome, the States of the Church and their administration, as well as the ecclesiastical power, which, as he says, punishes by interdicts, and rewards by indulgences. He next institutes a comparison between Pius IV and V, touching on the piety, justice, liberality, habits, and general dispositions of these pontiffs respectively.

Venice had found a very mild pope in the former, in the latter an extremely rigorous one. Pius V complained incessantly of the restrictions which Venice permitted herself to impose on the ecclesiastical immunities. He instances the taxation of monasteries, the trial of priests by the civil tribunals, and the conduct of the "Avogadores." Still, in despite of these misunderstandings, the comparison of Tiepolo tends entirely to the advantage of the more rigid, and to the disadvantage of the milder pope. We perceive clearly that the personal qualities of Pius V had produced an impression on this ambassador similar to that received from his character by Europe generally.

This report has been extensively circulated, as we have said; it has also been occasionally inserted in printed works; but let us remark the manner in which this has been done. In the "Tesoro Politico," i. 19, there is a "Relatione di Roma," in which all that Tiepolo says of Pius V is applied to Sixtus V. Traits of character, nay, even particular actions, ordinances, &c., are transferred without ceremony from one pope to the other. This report, thus completely falsified, was afterwards inserted in the "Respublica Romana" (Elzevir), where it will be found, word for word, p. 494, under the title "De statu urbis Romae et pontificis relatio tempore Sixti V papae, anno 1585."

No. 42

Relatione di Roma del Cl^mo S^r Michiel Suriano K. ritornato ambasciatore da N. S. Papa Pio V, 1571. [Report on Rome by M. Suriano, ambassador to Pius V.]

Michael Suriano, in whom, as we are told by Paruta, the study of literature added a more brilliant lustre to his talents for business (Guerra di Cipro, i. p. 28), was the immediate successor of Paolo Tiepolo. I will not repeat his description of Pius V, which I printed in the earlier editions, as it is given in the tenth volume of the Florentine Collection, p. 200.

There is no difficulty in believing that the ambassador

occupied a trying position with the pope whom he here describes. When Pius became aware, for example, that the Venetians would not publish the bull "In Coenâ Domini," he fell into a violent rage: "si perturbò estremamente, et acceso in collera disse molte cose gravi et fastidiose." This rendered the management of business doubly difficult. Suriano lost, in fact, the favour of his republic. He was recalled, and a large portion of this report is written for the purpose of justifying his conduct; but here we cannot follow him.

No. 43

Informatione di Pio V. Inform. Politt. Ambrosian Library, F. D. 181.

This, it is true, is anonymous, but was written by some one who was accurately informed, and is corroborative of other descriptions. One of the facts we learn from this document, is the singular one that, notwithstanding all the rigour of this pious pope, yet factions prevailed in his household; the older servants were opposed to the younger, who attached themselves more particularly to the grand chamberlain, M^re^ Cirillo: the latter was generally accessible to all. "Con le carezze e col mostrar di conoscere il suo valore facilmente s'acquistarebbe: ha l'animo elevatissimo, grande intelligenza con Gambara e Correggio, e si stringe con Morone."

No. 44

Relatione della corte di Roma nel tempo di Gregorio XIII. [Report of the Court of Rome in the time of Gregory XIII.] Corsini Library, No. 714. Dated Feb. 20, 1574.

Anonymous, but nevertheless very instructive, and bearing the stamp of authenticity. The author considers it difficult to judge of courts and princes. "Dirò come si

giudica nella corte e come la intendo." [I will shew how they judge at court, and will say what I think of it myself.] He gives the following description of Gregory XIII:—

"Having attained to the pontificate at the age of 71, he seemed desirous of changing his very nature, so that the rigour which he had always blamed in others was now apparent in himself, more particularly as regarded any freedom of intercourse with women, in relation to which he was more severe than his predecessor, enforcing all rules and regulations with a still more rigorous exactitude. He displayed equal severity in the matter of gambling, for certain persons of the most distinguished rank, having begun to amuse themselves in the commencement of his pontificate by playing for a few scudi, he reproved them with acrimony. It is true that some thought this playing was discovered to be a mere pretext to conceal intrigues that were set on foot respecting a new pontiff, in consequence of a slight indisposition which his holiness had in the commencement of his reign. From that time, the opinion that his holiness had been made pope by the most illustrious Cardinal de' Medici, and would be governed by him, began to lose ground, and it was made clearly apparent that his holiness abhorred the thought of any one pretending to arrogate an influence over him, or to intimate that he had need of being guided, nor will he have it supposed that he is governed by any but himself. It is indeed certain that in all judicial matters he is highly competent to act, understanding them perfectly, and requiring no advice on the subject. In affairs of state, on the contrary, his holiness might advantageously be better informed than he is, because he has never studied them profoundly. Thus he is sometimes irresolute; but when he has well considered the matter before him, he obtains a very clear perception of its different bearings, and after listening to various opinions, readily discerns the best and soundest. He is most patient and laborious, is never unoccupied, and takes very little recreation. He is constantly giving audience, or examining papers. He sleeps but little, rises very early, is fond of exercise and of the open air, which he does not fear, however unfavourable may be the weather. In eating he is most temperate, and drinks very little, preserving

himself in perfect health without quackeries or nostrums of any kind: he is gracious in outward demeanour to those who have done anything to please him. He is not profuse, nor even what would be called liberal, according to the opinion of the unthinking, who do not consider or discern the difference there is between a sovereign who abstains from extortion and rapacity, and one who tenaciously keeps what he has. This pontiff does not covet the property of others; nor does he lay plots against them to make himself master of it. He is not cruel nor sanguinary, but being continually in fear of war, either with the Turk or with heretics, he is anxious to have a good amount of money in the treasury, and to preserve it there, without spending it on useless things. He is said to have about a million and a half of gold. Yet he is much disposed to magnificence, loves splendour, and is above all things desirous of glory; by which desire it is, perhaps, that he is sometimes led to do things that are not pleasing to the court. For these reverend "padri Chiettini," who know his character well, have gained the upper hand of him, by persuading him that the influence and authority which Pius V possessed were to be attributed solely to his reputation for piety and goodness. With this they hold his holiness, as it were, in leading-strings, and compel him to do things contrary to his character and inclinations, for he has always been of a kindly and gentle disposition, and they restrict him to modes of life to which he is not accustomed, and that are uncongenial to him. It is believed that to effect this, they have employed the expedient of causing letters to be addressed to them by the fathers of their order resident in Spain and other places, which letters are filled with repetitions of the praises everywhere bestowed on the holy life of the late pontiff, and continually insist on the great glory he acquired by his reputation for piety, and by his reforms; and in this manner they are said to maintain their authority, and to persevere in governing his holiness. It is rumoured, besides, that they are also assisted by the bishop of Padua, nuncio in Spain, a creature of Pius V and of themselves. And so powerful is the pontiff's desire of glory, that he denies himself and puts restraint on his own nature, even to the extent of refraining from those proofs of

affection towards his son, which would be accounted reasonable and honourable by every one, because he is influenced by the scruples inspired by the aforesaid fathers. Thus the great fortune of his holiness in having attained his high dignity from so poor a condition, is counterbalanced by this state of things, and by his having kindred from whom he can derive no satisfaction, and who do not appear to his holiness to be possessed of capacity for important affairs, nor proper to be entrusted with the business of the state."

He proceeds to describe the cardinals in a similar manner. Of Granvelle, he remarks, that he did not maintain his credit, he was intent on his own gratifications, and was considered avaricious. In the affairs of the League he had nearly occasioned an open rupture between the king and the pope. Commendone, on the contrary, is highly extolled. "He possesses virtue, goodness, and experience, with infinite soundness of judgment."

No. 45

Seconda relatione dell' ambasciatore di Roma, clar^mo M. Paolo Tiepolo K^r; 3 Maggio, 1576. [Second report of Paolo Tiepolo, ambassador to Rome.]

The anonymous report mentioned above speaks of Tiepolo also, and in the highest terms; he is described as a man of clear head and great worth. "He is modest, and, unlike the usual habit of the Venetians, is courteous and liberal. He is extremely well received, gives general satisfaction, and shews great prudence in shaping his course through these toils and difficulties."

When the Venetians separated themselves from the league formed against the Turks, for example, he had to maintain a difficult position. It was believed that the pope would propose in the consistory that the Venetians should be excommunicated, and certain of the cardinals were preparing to oppose any such purpose. "With the exception of Cornaro (a Venetian), there was not one who would come to see me or send for me, much less would any of

them advise, console, or assist me." The true cause of the separate peace, Tiepolo asserts to have been that the Spaniards, after promising to be prepared and armed, in April, 1573, declared, in that month, that their armament would not be complete until June. It tended greatly to mitigate the anger of the pope, that Venice finally determined to create his son a Venetian "nobile." Tiepolo describes this son of the pope, Giacomo Buoncompagno, and then discourses at large concerning the civil administration of the cardinal of Como. The Report is printed in Alberi, Relazioni degli Ambasc. Venet., vol. x. p. 203.

No. 46

Commentariorum de rebus Gregorii XIII lib. i. *et* ii. Albani Library.

Unfortunately incomplete. The author, Cardinal Vercelli, when, after certain preliminary observations, he proceeds to speak of Gregory's pontificate, promises to treat of three things: the war with the Turks, the war of the Protestants against the kings of France and Spain, and the disputes respecting the jurisdiction of the Church.

But unluckily we find in the second book that the war against the Turks is given no farther than to the treaty of peace with the Venetians.

With the relations subsisting between eastern affairs and those of religion we are acquainted. Our author's explanation of the perplexities involving the affairs of the year 1572 is by no means a bad one. Intelligence had been received to the effect that Charles IX was abetting the movements of the Protestants in the Netherlands. "Quod cum Gregorius moleste ferret, dat ad Gallorum regem litteras quibus ab eo vehementer petit ne suos in hoc se admiscere bellum patiatur: alioquin se existimaturum omnia haec illius voluntate nutuque fieri. Rex de suis continendis magnae sibi curae fore pollicetur, id quod quantum in se est praestat: verum ejusmodi litteris, quae paulo minacius scriptae videbantur, nonnihil tactus, nonnullis etiam conjecturis eo adductus ut se irritari propeque ad bellum provocari

putaret, ne imparatum adorirentur, urbes quas in finibus regni habebat diligenter communit, duces suos admonet ut operam dent ne quid detrimenti capiat, simulque Emanuelem Allobrogum ducem, utriusque regis propinquum et amicum, de his rebus omnibus certiorem facit. Emanuel, qui pro singulari prudentia sua, quam horum regum dissensio suis totique reipublicae christianae calamitosa futura esset, probe intelligebat, ad pontificem haec omnia perscribit, eumque obsecrat et obtestatur, nascenti malo occurrat, ne longius serpat atque inveteratum robustius fiat. Pontifex, quam gereret personam minimum oblitus, cum regem Gallorum adolescentem et gloriae cupiditate incensum non difficillime a catholicae fidei hostibus, quorum tunc in aula maxima erat autoritas, ad hujusmodi bellum impelli posse animadverteret, reginam tamen ejus matrem longe ab eo abhorrere dignitatisque et utilitatis suae rationem habituram putaret, mittit eo Antonium Mariam Salviatum, reginae affinem eique pergratum, qui eam in officio contineat, ipsiusque opera facilius regi, ne reip. christianae accessionem imperii et gloriam quae ex orientali expeditione merito expectanda esset invideat funestumque in illius visceribus moveat bellum, persuadeat."

In so far, then, the pope was certainly indirectly implicated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was his interest to prevent by all possible means the outbreak of war between Spain and France. It is greatly to be wished that we possessed the portion of this work which related to the religious dissensions.

I have been further induced to quote the above passage by the fact that the very first lines prove it to belong to the sources of which Maffei has availed himself in his "Annali di Gregorio XIII, Pontefice Massimo." Let the reader compare the passage with Maffei, i. p. 27. "Scrisse a Carlo risentitamente, che se egli comportava che i sudditi e ministri s'intromettessero in questa guerra per distornarla, egli tutto riconoscerebbe da lui e dalla mala sua intenzione. E per l'istesso fine operò che li signori Venziani gli mandassero un' ambasciatore con diligenza. Rispose Carlo modestamente, ch'egli farebbe ogni possibile perchè i suoi nè a lui dovessero dar disgusto, nè agli Spagnuoli sospetto

di quello ch'egli non aveva in pensiero. Ma non restò però di dolersi con Emanuele duca di Savoja della risentita maniera con che gli aveva scritto il pontefice: parendogli che si fosse lasciato spingere dagli Spagnuoli che avessero voglia essi di romperla: et ad un tempo cominciò a presidiare le città delle frontiere." [He wrote angrily to Charles, that if he suffered his subjects and ministers to mingle in that war, for the purpose of impeding it, he (the pope) should attribute all the mischief to him and his evil intentions. And the pontiff contrived that the Venetians should, with all diligence, despatch an ambassador to the French king for a similar purpose. Charles replied modestly, that he would do his best to prevent his subjects from causing displeasure to the pope, and from giving the Spaniards suspicion of his intending what he had never even thought of. But he did not fail to complain to Emanuel, duke of Savoy, of the angry manner in which the pope had written to him, saying it was his opinion that his holiness had suffered himself to be urged on by the Spaniards, who had themselves wished to interrupt the peace; and at the same time he began to garrison the cities of the frontiers.]

I find, besides, that in various parts the work of Maffei is no other than an amplified transcript of the document we are examining. Yet I do not, in the least, desire to detract from the merit of Maffei's work by this remark; I am indebted to it for very valuable information, and though not entirely impartial, it is moderate, rich in matter, and upon the whole worthy of confidence.

No. 47

Relatione di mons^r^ rev^mo^ Gio. P. Ghisilieri a papa Gregorio XIII, tornando egli dal presidentato della Romagna. [Report of Ghisilieri to Pope Gregory, on his return from the presidency of Romagna.] See vol. i. p. 310.

No. 48

Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di mons^r ill^mo Commendone all' ill^mo s^r Hier. Savorgnano. [A discourse, or sketch, relating to the court of Rome, presented by Commendone to Geronimo Savorgnano.] Library of Vienna; Rangone manuscripts. No. XVIII., fol. 278–395.

To all appearance, this work belongs to the time of Gregory XIII. I would not answer for the name of Commendone; but whoever the writer was, he was a man of talent, and deeply initiated into all the more secret relations of Roman life.

He describes the court as follows: "This commonwealth is a principality of the highest authority in a universal aristocracy of all Christians, having its seat in Rome. Its principle is religion. But if it be true (he further proceeds to say) that religion is the end, and that this is to be maintained by virtue and sound doctrine, it is impossible but that an alteration in the condition of men's minds shall involve the danger of confusion to the whole commonwealth."

He then treats principally of this conflict between the spiritual and secular efforts and interests; and above all things inculcates the necessity of a cautious foresight. "Close attention to every movement, and to all personal acts and proceedings. House, servants, equipages, should all be suitable; honourable and virtuous acquaintance only should be formed, nor should anything ever be affirmed that is not certainly known." The court requires "goodness, elevation of mind, prudence, eloquence, theology." But all is still uncertain. "This should be regarded as a voyage at sea, in which, although prudence may do much, and render most winds favourable to us, yet it cannot secure fair weather, or prescribe any determined time of arrival, neither will it give us certainty of reaching the port. Some there are who in the summer season, with a noble and well-furnished bark, will go down, or make but slow way; while others make good speed, though the season be winter and they have but a frail or dismantled ship."

SECTION IV

SIXTUS V

I. Critical Remarks on Leti and Tempesti, the Biographers of this Pope

Vita di Sisto V, pontefice Romano, scritta dal Signor Geltio Rogeri all' instanza di Gregorio Leti. Losanna, 1669. [Life of Sixtus V, written by Signor Geltio Rogeri at the suggestion of Gregorio Leti.] 2 vols.; afterwards published under less singular titles, in 3 vols.

The reputation of an individual, or the mode of view taken of an event, is far more frequently determined by popular writings which have succeeded in obtaining extensive currency, than by more important historical works, which often require too long a time in preparation. The public does not make minute inquiry as to whether all the relations presented to it be really founded on truth; it is content when the recollections presented in print are as abundant and varied as those furnished in conversation, but more concise, and, by consequence, more piquant.

The biography of Sixtus V, by Leti, is a book of this kind; the most effective, perhaps, of all the works published by that voluminous writer. It has determined the idea of Pope Sixtus, which has ever since governed public opinion with respect to that pope.

The reader invariably finds himself in the utmost embarrassment on his first attempt to study such books: he cannot deny to them a certain degree of truth, and they are not to be wholly disregarded; yet it instantly becomes obvious that they cannot be trusted far, although it may generally be impossible to determine where the line should be drawn.

We do not obtain the power of forming a sound judgment on this question until we have discovered the sources from which the author obtained his materials, and carefully examined the manner in which he has employed them.

By progressive and continued research we came upon the sources whence Leti drew his materials, and we cannot refrain from comparing the accounts he has given with these authorities.

1. In the whole history of Sixtus V there is nothing more talked of than the manner in which he is reported to have attained the papacy, and his conduct in the conclave. Who is there that does not know how the decrepit cardinal, tottering along, bent and leaning on his staff, had no sooner been made pope than he suddenly raised himself, a vigorous man, threw away the crutch, and threatened with the exercise of his power those very men from whom he had won it by deception? This narration of Leti's has been received and obtained credence throughout the world. We ask whence he derived it?

There exist documents in regard to every papal election, adducing the motives, or rather describing the intrigues preceding it; and with regard to the election of Sixtus V, we find a so-called "Conclave," written as these papers usually were at the time, and evincing an accurate knowledge of the persons taking part in the election. "Conclave nel quale fu creato il C[l] Montalto che fu Sisto V."

We perceive on the first comparison that Leti had this document in particular before him. It will be seen, indeed, that he has done little more than paraphrase it.

Concl. MS.:—"Il lunedì mattina per tempo si ridussero nella capella Paulina, dove il cardinal Farnese come decano celebrò messa, e di mano sua communicò li cardinali: dipoi si venne secondo il solito allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal Albani hebbe 13 voti, che fu il maggior numero che alcun cardinale havesse. Ritornati i cardinali alle celle, si attese alle pratiche, et Altemps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda la pratica di Sirleto, ajutato da Medici e delle creature di Pio IV, per la confidenza che havevano di poter di qualsivoglia di loro disponere: ma subito fu trovata l'esclusione, scoprendosi contra di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza."

Leti:—"Lunedì mattina di buon' hora si adunarono tutti nella capella Paolina, ed il cardinal Farnese in qualità di decano celebrò la messa, e communicò tutti i cardinali: e poi si diede principio allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal Albano hebbe 13 voti, che fu il numero maggiore. Doppo questo li cardinali se ne ritornarono alle lor celle per pransare, e doppo il pranso si attese alle pratiche di molti: ma particorlamente Altemps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda le pratiche di Guglielmo Sirleto Calabrese, ajutato dal cardinal Medici e dalle creature di Pio IV, per la confidenza che haveva ogni uno di loro di poterne disporre: ma in breve se gli fece innanzi l'esclusione, scoprendosi contro di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza."

And as with the principal facts, so with the accessories; for example, the MS. has:—"Farnese incapricciato et acceso di incredibile voglia di essere papa, comincia a detestare publicamente la pratica et il soggetto, dicendo: Io non so come costoro lo intendono di volere far Sirleto papa." Leti:—"Il primo che se gli oppose fu Farnese, incapricciato ancor lui ed acceso d'incredibile voglia d'esser papa: onde parendo a lui d'esserne più meritevole, come in fatti era, cominciò publicamente a detestare la pratica ed il soggetto, dicendo per tutti gli angoli del conclave: Io non so come costoro l'intendono di voler far papa Sirleto."

It is the same with regard to occasional observations; for example, the manuscript describes the effect produced on Cardinal Alessandrino by the disguise of Sixtus, and the offence it gave him. "Ma Dio, che haveva eletto Montalto papa, non permesse che si avertisse a quello che principalmente avertire si dovea, nè lasciò che Farnese nè suoi si svegliassero a impedire la pratica, credendo che non fosse per venire ad effetto dell' adoratione, ma solo per honorare Montalto nello scrutinio." Although so pious a mode of expression is foreign to the manner of Leti, he has yet found it convenient to copy this passage, and to insert it in his book; with some few slight changes he has transcribed it literally.

Now is this not rather an encomium on the often disputed fidelity of Leti, than an accusation against him?

But let us proceed to the one thing by which doubt is

here excited—the conduct of the cardinal. It is remarkable that as regards this one point, Leti no longer agrees with his original.

Leti says, "Montalto se ne stava in sua camera e non già nel conclave, fingendosi tutto lasso et abandonato d'ogni ajuto humano. Non usciva che raramente et se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrare messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava con certe maniere spensierate."

[Montalto remained apart in his chamber, and did not go into the conclave, pretending to be quite worn out and past all human aid. He went out very rarely, and when he did go to any place, as, for example, to celebrate mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he would depart again with a certain semblance of being wholly indifferent to what was going forward.]

The original, on the contrary, says, "Sebene non mostrava una scoperta ambitione, non pretermetteva di far poi tutti quelli officii che il tempo et il luogo richiedevano, humiliandosi a cardinali, visitandoli et offerendosi, ricevendo all' incontro i favori e l'offerte degli altri."

[A]though he did not evince any open ambition, yet neither did he neglect the performance of those offices which the time and the place demanded, humbling himself to the cardinals, paying them visits, and making them offers, while on his part he received the visits and offers of the others.]

The original says, that he had taken these steps even before the conclave, with regard to Cardinal Farnese, and had afterwards visited Cardinal de' Medici and Cardinal d' Este. It relates further, that on the evening before his election, he had paid a visit to Cardinal Madruzzi, and on the morning of the day had also visited Cardinal Altemps, receiving from both the assurance that he should be elected. In a word, Montalto is described in the original as a man in good health, active, and full of life: nay, that he was still so vigorous, and in the force of his years, is adduced as one of the motives for his election. The whole relation of his pretended debility and seclusion, which has acquired so wide a currency, is an addition of Leti's: but the source whence he took this, whether he merely followed the popular rumour,

a mere unfounded report, or found the story in some previous writer,—these are questions to which we shall return.

2. A second material feature in the generally received opinion and reputation of Sixtus, is formed by the impression produced by his financial arrangements. This also is founded in part on the statements of Leti. In the second division of his book, p. 289, there is a summary of the papal revenue and expenditure, to which a certain degree of credit has been accorded, even by the most reasonable and well-informed observers: "Rendite ordinarie c'havea la sede apostolica nel tempo che Sisto entrava nel pontificato." We ought at least to be able to trust his figures in general.

But even on this point, it is immediately manifest that affairs are not as Leti represents them. At the accession of Sixtus, in April, 1585, the contracts which Gregory XIII had made with the farmers of the revenue in August, 1576, for nine years, were still in force. Of these we have an authentic statement, under the title, "Entrata della reverenda camera apostolica sotto il pontificato di N. Sig^re Gregorio XIII, fatto nell' anno 1576." This document is very exact in its details, presenting, first, the sum contracted for; next, an account of such portions as were alienated; and, finally, the sums remaining,—each separately stated. Now with this account, the details presented by Leti are far from agreeing. He has given the proceeds of the Roman customs and excise (dogana) at 182,450 scudi, while the true amount was 133,000 only. Of all the sums that he has enumerated, there is not one correct. But where did he find the materials for this account? It is not possible that it should be altogether imaginary. There is in our possession another statement for the year 1592, two years after the death of Sixtus V. With this document the summary of Leti agrees in almost every item, and even in the order of their arrangement: in both, for example, we find the following articles in succession:—"Dogana di Civita Vecchia, 1,977 scudi; di Narni, 400; di Rieti, 100; gabella del studio di Roma, 26,560; gabella del quadrino a libra di carne di Roma, 20,335," &c. &c. But what a confusion is this! In these items all the changes effected by Sixtus

were already commenced, and should have been here particularized. Neither does the confusion end here. Leti had apparently trusted to some very incorrect manuscript, if, indeed, he did not himself introduce intentional changes; it is at least certain that he has made the most extraordinary deviations from his authorities. The salara di Roma produced 27,654 scudi; he makes it 17,654: the treasury and salara of Romagna brought in 71,395 scudi; he gives 11,395. But it will suffice to say, that his statement is never correct even for any other year; it is false and useless in all its parts.

3. We already perceive that he compiled without judgment or critical accuracy; he transcribed original documents, without doubt, but he did this too hastily. How, indeed, was it possible that in the restless and fugitive life he constantly led, he could have produced so many books, had he bestowed on them the due amount of labour? From what source, then, did he derive his materials on this occasion?

In the Corsini library in Rome, there is a MS., "Detti e fatti di Papa Sisto V," which supplies us with sufficient information as to the life and proceedings of that pontiff.

It is manifest at the first glance that in this work are all the essentials of Leti. We have only to compare the first passages that present themselves.

The manuscript of the Corsini says, for example, "Il genitore di Sisto V si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu costretto non so per qual accidente partire, onde s'incaminò per trovare la sua fortuna altrove: et essendo povero e miserabile, non aveva da poter vivere, essendo solito sostentarsi di quello alla giornata guadagnava grandemente faticando, e con la propria industria viveva. Partitosi dunque da Farnese, se ne andò a trovare un suo zio."

Leti has, in like manner, in his first edition, "Il padre di Sisto si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu constretto non so per qual' accidente occorsoli di partirsi, ciò che fece volentieri per cercar fortuna altrove, mentre per la povertà della sua casa non haveva di che vivere se non di quello che lavorava con le proprie

mani alla giornata. Partito di Farnese la matina, giunse la sera nelle grotte per consigliarsi con un suo zio."

This is obviously entirely the same account, with a few slight changes of expression.

Occasionally we find short interpolations in Leti, but immediately afterwards, the manuscript and his printed work correspond again.

When we further inquire, whence proceed those additions with which Leti has been pleased to endow the narrative of the conclave, we shall find that these also are taken from this Corsini manuscript. The passage which we have given above from Leti appears in the manuscript as follows:—"Montalto se ne stava tutto lasso con la corona in mano et in una piccolissima cella abandonato da ogn' uno, e se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrar messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava, &c." It is clear that Leti uses this text with only very slight modifications of style.

I will add one more passage on account of the importance of the subject. The MS. says, "Prima di cominciarsi il Montalto, che stava appresso al card[l] di San Sisto per non perderlo della vista o perche non fosse subornato da altri porporati, gli disse alle orecchie queste parole: Faccia instanza V. S[ria] ill[ma] che lo scrutinio segua senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: e questo fu il primo atto d'ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Non mancò il card[l] di San Sisto di far ciò: perche con il Bonelli unitamente principiò ad alzare la voce due o tre volte così: Senza pregiudicio della seguita adoratione. Queste voci atterrirono i cardinali: perche fu supposto da tutti loro che dovesse esser eletto per adoratione. Il card[l] Montalto già cominciava a levar quelle nebbie di fintioni che avevano tenuto nascosto per lo spatio di anni 14 l'ambitione grande che li regnava in seno: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono papale, quando udì leggere la metà e più delli voti in suo favore, tosto allungò il collo e si alzò in piedi, senza attendere il fine del scrutinio, e uscito in mezzo di quella capella gittò verso la porta di quella il bastoncello che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva due palmi più longo del solito. E quello che fu più maraviglioso, &c."

Let us compare with this the corresponding passage in Leti, i. p. 412 (edition of 1669).

"Prima di cominciarsi Montalto si calò nell' orecchia di San Sisto, e gli disse: Fate instanza che lo scrutinio si faccia senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: che fu appunto il primo atto d'ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Nè San Sisto mancò di farlo, perche insieme con Alessandrino cominciò a gridare due o tre volte: Senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione. Già cominciava Montalto a levar quelle nebbie di fintioni che havevano tenuto nascosto per più di quindeci anni l'ambitione grande che li regnava nel cuore: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono ponteficale, non si tosto intese legger più della metà de' voti in suo favore che assicuratosi del ponteficato si levò in piedi e senza aspettare il fino dello scrutinio gettò nel mezo di quella sala un certo bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva quasi un piede più longo di quel ch'era prima: ma quello che fu più maraviglioso," &c. Here it is again obvious that, with the exception of a few unimportant literal changes, the passages are absolutely identical.

On one occasion Leti brings forward an authority for his narration: "Io ho parlato con un Marchiano, ch'è morto venti (in later editions, trenta) anni sono, et assai caduco, il quale non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V, e ne raccontava tutte le particolarità." [I have conversed with a native of the March, who has been dead these twenty years, and was then very old, whose sole pleasure consisted in talking of Sixtus V, and who used to relate all sorts of particulars concerning him.] Now, it seems in itself improbable that Leti, who arrived in Rome in the year 1644, at the age of fourteen, should have had intercourse with persons intimately acquainted with Sixtus V, or should have derived much assistance for his book from their conversation. But this is again another passage adopted from the above-mentioned manuscript: "Et un giorno parlando con un certo uomo dalla Marcha, che è morto, che non aveva altro piacere, che di parlare di Sisto V." The twenty or thirty years are added by Leti, for the purpose of giving increased credibility to his relation.

Here, also, Leti appears to me to have used a defective copy. The MS. tells us, in the very beginning, that the boy was often compelled to watch the cattle at night in the open fields, —"in campagna aperta." Instead of this, Leti has, "in compagnia d'un' altro," which has all the appearance of an ill-corrected error in transcribing. The M. A. Selleri of Leti, also, must have been, according to the MS., M. A. Siliaci.

In a word, Leti's Vita di Sisto V is by no means an original work. It is merely a new version of an Italian MS. that had fallen into his hands, with certain additions and alterations of style.

The whole question, therefore, is, what degree of credit this manuscript deserves. It is a collection of anecdotes, made after a considerable lapse of years, and apocryphal in its character throughout. The narration, in respect to the conclave in particular, is altogether unworthy of belief. Sixtus V was not the person of whom this story was first related; the same thing had already been said of Paul III. In the preface to the "Acta Concilii Tridentini, 1546," an extract from which will be found in Strobel's Neue Beiträge, v. 233, there occurs the following passage in relation to Paul III: "Mortuo Clemente valde callide primum simulabat . . . vix prae senio posse suis pedibus consistere: arridebat omnibus, laedebat neminem, suamque prorsus voluntatem ad nutum reliquorum accommodabat: . . . ubi se jam pontificem declaratum sensit, qui antea tarditatem, morbum, senium et quasi formidolosum leporem simulabat, extemplo tunc est factus agilis, validus, imperiosus, suamque inauditam ferociam . . . coepit ostendere." We perceive clearly that this is the foundation for the narrative given in the Corsini manuscript, and related by Leti.

Leti did not think of first examining the truth of his manuscript, or of rectifying its errors. On the contrary, he has done his best to distort what he found in it still further from the truth.

He was, nevertheless, received with decided approbation; his work passed through edition after edition, and has appeared in many translations.

It is a remarkable fact, that history, as it passes into the

'memory of man, always touches on the confines of mythology. Personal qualities stand forth in bolder relief, they become more sharply defined, and in one mode or another approach to a comprehensible ideal; events receive a more distinct and positive character of delineation, accessory circumstances and co-operative causes are forgotten and neglected. It is in this manner only that the demands of the imagination appear capable of receiving entire satisfaction.

At a later period comes the learned inquirer, who is amazed that men should ever have adopted opinions so erroneous: he does his best for the dissipation of these phantasies and falsehoods, but eventually becomes aware that his purpose is by no means easy of attainment. The understanding is convinced, but the imagination remains unsubdued.

Storia della vita e geste di papa Sisto V, sommo pontefice, scritta dal P^re^ M^ro^ Casimiro Tempesti. Roma, 1755. [Life of Sixtus V, by Casimiro Tempesti.]

We have already spoken of the moderate, cheerful, and well-intentioned pontiff Lambertini, Benedict XIV. His pontificate is further distinguished by the fact that almost all works of any utility, in respect to the internal history of the papacy, belong to that period. It was at that time that the Annals of Maffei were printed, that Bromato prepared his work in relation to Paul IV, and that biographies of Marcellus II and Benedict XIII appeared. Then also it was that Casimiro Tempesti, a Franciscan,—as was Sixtus V himself,—undertook to refute the errors of Leti.

For this purpose all desirable facilities were accorded to him. He was permitted to make unrestricted search through the Roman libraries, where he found the most valuable materials in the richest abundance,—biographies, correspondence, memorials of all kinds; and these he proceeded to incorporate in his work. Perhaps the most important of all this mass of documents is the correspondence of Morosini, the nuncio in France, which fills a large part of his book; for he has generally adopted his materials in his text, with but very slight modifications.

On this point we have but two remarks to make.

In the first place, he assumes a peculiar position in regard to the authorities he uses. He believes them and transcribes them, but he is persuaded that the pope must have been on bad terms with these writers—that he must have offended them; so that they no sooner begin to find fault with the pontiff, than Tempesti renounces them, and labours to affix some different explanation to such actions of his hero as they call in question.

But he sometimes departs altogether from his authorities, either because they are not sufficiently zealous for the Church, or because he has not attained to a clear comprehension of the matter treated. An example of this will be found in the affair of Mühlhausen, in the year 1587. The manuscript that Tempesti designates as the "Anonimo Capitolino," and which he has in very many places directly transcribed, relates this occurrence with much perspicuity. Let us observe the mode in which he uses it.

In remarking the disputes that broke out at Mühlhausen, "about a little wood that was barely worth twelve crowns," as Laufer expresses himself (Helv. Geschichte, xi. 10), the Anonimo very properly observes, "io non so che causa," [I know not for what cause]. Of this Tempesti makes, "in urgente lor emergenza" [in their pressing emergency]. The people of Mühlhausen put some of their senators in prison: "carcerarano parecchi del suo senato." Tempesti says, "carcerati alcuni," without remarking that they were members of the council. Fears were entertained lest the inhabitants of Mühlhausen should give themselves up to the protection of the Catholic districts, and separate themselves from the Protestants: "Che volesse mutar religione e protettori, passando all' eretica fede con raccomandarsi alli cantoni cattolici, siccome allora era raccomandata alli eretici." This is in allusion to the fact that Mühlhausen, on its first entrance into the Swiss confederation in 1515, was not acknowleged by Uri, Schwyz, Lucerne, and Unterwalden, as these cantons afterwards refused it their protection on joining the reformed church. (Glutz Blotzheim, continuation of Müller's Schweizergeschichte, p. 373.) Tempesti has not an idea of this peculiar position of things. He says

very drily : " Riputarono che i Milausini volessero dichiararsi cattolici." [They believed that the people of Mühlhausen desired to declare themselves Catholics.] Tempesti proceeds in like manner, even where the author shews by his typographical signs that he is using the words of others. The "Anonimo Capitolino" says that Pope Sixtus V was about to send 100,000 scudi into Switzerland for the promotion of this secession, when he received intelligence that all the dissensions were appeased. Tempesti, nevertheless, declares that the pope did send the money; for he is resolved to make his hero, above all things, magnificent and liberal, although it is certain that liberality was by no means the quality for which he was most remarkable.

I will not accumulate examples further. These are his modes of proceeding in all cases wherein I have compared him with his authorities. He is diligent, careful, and possessed of good information, but limited, dry monotonous, and destitute of any true insight into affairs; his collections do not enable the reader to dispense with an examination of the originals. His work was not calculated to counteract, by an equal impression, the effect of that produced by the book of Leti.

II.—Manuscripts

Let us now return to our manuscripts; for precise and positive information, we are, after all, constantly thrown back on them.

And first we meet with a MS. by Pope Sixtus himself,—memoranda written with his own hand, and made while he was still in his convent.

No. 49

Memorie autografe di papa Sisto V. Chigi Library. No. III. 70. 158 leaves.

This document was found in a garret by a certain

Salvetti, who made a present of it to Pope Alexander VII. There is no doubt whatever of its authenticity.

"Questo libro sarà per memoria di mie poche facenducce, scritto di mia propria mano, dove cio che sarà scritto a laude di Dio sarà la ignuda verità, e così priego creda ogn' uno che legge." [This book shall be for a memorial of my few small proceedings, written with my own hand, wherein that which shall be written to the praise of God shall be the naked truth, and so I pray every one who reads it to believe.]

The book first contains accounts, of which, however, at least one leaf is missing, if not more.

"E qui sarà scritti," he continues, "tutti crediti, debiti et ogn' altra mia attione di momento. E così sarà la verità come qui si troverà scritto." [And here shall be written all that is owing to me, and all that I owe, with every thing of moment that is done by me; and the truth will be such as shall here be found written.]

To what I have already narrated in the text, I will here add one example more. "Andrea del Apiro, frate di San Francesco conventuale, venne a Venetia, e nel partirse per pagar robe comprate per suo fratello, qual mi disse far botega in Apiro, me domandò in prestito denari, e li prestai, presente fra Girolamo da Lunano e fra Cornelio da Bologna, fiorini 30, e mi promise renderli a Montalto in mano di fra Salvatore per tutti il mese presente d'Augusto, come appar in un scritto da sua propria mano il dì 9 Agosto 1557, quale è nella mia casetta. H. 30." [Andrea of Apiro, friar conventual of St. Francis, came to Venice, and when departing, desired from me a loan of money to pay for goods which he had bought for his brother, who, he told me, keeps a shop in Apiro, and I lent him thirty florins, there being present Fra Girolamo of Lunano, and Fra Cornelio of Bologna, and he promised to restore them to me at Montalto, paying them into the hands of Fra Salvatore, first taking all the present month of August, as appears in a writing under his own hand, of the ninth day of August, 1557, which writing is in my little chest.]

We here gain an insight into these little monastic proceedings; how one lends money to another, the borrower assisting the little trade of his brother, while others serve as

witnesses to the transaction. Fra Salvatore also makes his appearance.

Then follows an inventory of books. "Inventarium omnium librorum tam seorsum quam simul ligatorum quos ego Fr. Felix Peretius de Monte alto emi et de licentia superiorum possideo. Qui seorsum fuerit ligatus, faciat numerum; qui non cum aliis, minime." I am now sorry that I did not take notes from this catalogue; but it seemed to me to be very insignificant.

At length we find at page 144—

"Memoria degli anni che andai a studio, di officii, prediche e commissioni avute." [Memoranda concerning the years that I passed as a student, my offices, my engagements as a preacher, and the commissions I received.]

This I will give at full length, although Tempesti has made various extracts from it. It is important, as being the only diary of a pope that we possess.

"Col nome di dio 1540 il dì 1 settembre di mercoldì intrai a studio in Ferrara, e vi finii il triennio sotto il r^do m^ro Bart^o dalla Pergola. Nel 43 fatto il capitolo in Ancona andai a studio in Bologna sotto il r^do maestro Giovanni da Correggio: intrai in Bologna il dì S. Jacobo maggior di Luglio, e vi stetti fino al settembre del 44, quando il costacciaro mi mandò baccellier di convento in Rimini col rev^mo regente m^r Antonio da città di Penna, e vi finii il tempo sino al capitolo di Venezia del 46. Fatto il capitolo andai baccellier di convento in Siena con m^ro Alexandro da Montefalco, e qui finii il triennio fino al capitolo d'Assisi del 49. Ma il costacciaro mi die' la licentia del magisterio nel 48 a 22 Luglio, e quattro dì dopo me addottorai a Fermo. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi fui fatto regente di Siena 1549 e vi finii il triennio, fu generale mons^r Gia Jacobo da Montefalco. A Napoli: nel capitolo generale di Genova fui fatto regente di Napoli 1553 dal rev^mo generale m^r Giulio da Piacenza e vi finii il triennio. A Venezia: nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui fatto regente di Venezia, e vi finii il triennio, e l'anno primo della mia regeria fui eletto inquisitor in tutto l'ill^mo dominio 1557 dì 17 di Gennaro. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi 1559 eletto generale m^ro Giovan Antonio da Cervia, fui confirmato regente et inquisitore in Venezia come di

sopra. Per la morte di papa Paolo IIII l'anno detto d'Agosto partii da Venezia per visitare li miei a Montalto, inquisitore apostolico: mosso da gran tumulti; il 22 di Febbraro 1560 tornai in ufficio col brieve di Pio IIII papa, et vi stetti tutto 'lGiugno, e me chiamò a Roma: il dì 18 Luglio 1560 fui fatto teologo assistente alla inquisitione di Roma e giurai l'officio in mano del card^l Alessandrino.

" (Prediche.) L'anno 1540 predicai, nè havevo anchor cantato messa, in Montepagano, terra di Abruzzo. L'anno 1541 predicai a Voghiera, villa Ferrarese, mentre ero studente in Ferrara. L'anno 1542 predicai in Grignano, villa del Polesine di Rovigo, e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1543 predicai alla fratta di Badenara (viveva il Diedo e'l Manfrone) e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1544 predicai alla Canda, villa della Badia, e studiavo in Bologna. L'anno 1545 predicai le feste in Rimini in convento nostro, perche il m^o di studio di Bologna ne preoccupò la predica di Monte Scutulo, et ero bacc^o di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1546 predicai a Macerata di Montefeltro et ero bacc^o di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1547 predicai a S. Geminiano in Toscana et ero bacc^o di convento a Siena. L'anno 1548 predicai a S. Miniato al Tedesco in Toscana, et ero bacc^o di Siena. L'anno 1549 predicai in Ascoli della Marca, partito da Siena par l'ingresso de Spagnoli introdutti da Don Diego Mendozza. L'anno 1550 predicai a Fano et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1551 predicai nel domo di Camerino condotto dal r^mo vescovo et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1552 predicai a Roma in S. Apostoli, e tre ill^mi cardinali me intrattennero in Roma, e lessi tutto l'anno tre dì della settimana la pistola a Romani di S. Paolo. L'anno 1553 predicai a Genova, e vi se fece il capitolo generale, et andai regente a Napoli. L'anno 1554 predicai a Napoli in S. Lorenzo, e vi ero regente, e lessi tutto l'anno in chiesa l'evangelio di Giovanni. L'anno 1555 predicai nel duomo di Perugia ad instanza dell' ill^mo cardinale della Corgna. L'anno 1556 fu chiamato a Roma a concilio generale, che già principiò la santità di papa Paulo IIII, però non predicai. L'anno 1557 fu eletto inquisitor di Venezia e del dominio, e bisognandome tre dì della settimana seder a tribunale non predicai ordinariamente, ma 3 (?) di della settimana a S. Caterina in

Venezia. L'anno 1558 predicai a S. Apostoli di Venezia e 4 giorni della settimana a S. Caterina, ancorche exequissi l'officio della s^ta^ inquis^ne^. L'anno 1559 non predicai salvo tre dì della settimana a S. Caterina per le molte occupationi del s. officio. L'anno 1560 tornando col brieve di S. Santità a Venezia inquisitore tardi predicai solo a S. Caterina come di sopra.

"(Commissioni.) L'anno 1548 ebbi da rev^mo^ m^re^ Bartolommeo da Macerata, ministro della Marca, una commissione a Fermo per liberar di prigione del S^r^ vicelegato fra Leonardo della Ripa: lo liberai e lo condussi in Macerata. L'anno 1549 ebbi dal sud^o^ R. P^re^ commissione in tutta la custodia di Ascoli da Febbraro fino a pasqua. L'anno istesso dall' istesso ebbi una commissione nel convento di Fabriano e vi rimisi frate Evangelista dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1550 ebbi dall' istesso padre commissione in Senegaglia: rimisi fra Nicolò in cassa e veddi i suoi conti. L'anno 1551 ebbi commissione dal rev^mo^ p^re^ generale m^re^ Gia Jacobo da Montefalco a visitar tutta la parte de Montefeltro, Cagli et Urbino. L'anno 1552 ebbi dall' ill^mo^ cardinale protettor commissione sopra una lite esistente tra il guardiano fra Tommaso da Piacenza et un fra Francesco da Osimo, che aveva fatto la cocchina in Santo Apostolo. L'istesso anno ebbi commission dal rev^mo^ padre generale m^ro^ Giulio da Piacenza nel convento di Fermo, e privai di guardianato m^ro^ Domenico da Montesanto, e viddi i conti del procuratore fra Lodovico da Pontano, e bandii della provincia fra Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo per aver dato delle ferite a fra Tommaso dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1555 ebbi del sudetto r^mo^ generale commissione di andar in Calabria a far il ministro, perche aveva inteso quello esser morto, ma chiarito quello esser vivo non andai. L'anno 1557 ebbi commissione sopra il Gattolino di Capodistria, sopra il Garzoneo da Veglia et altre assai commissioni di fra Giulio di Capodistria. L'anno 1559 fui fatto commissario nella provincia di S. Antonio, tenni il capitolo a Bassano, e fu eletto ministro m^ro^ Cornelio Veneto. L'anno 1560 fui fatto inquisitore apostolico in tutto il dominio Veneto, e dell' istesso anno fui fatto teologo assistente alla inquisitione di Roma il dì 16 Luglio 1560.

" Nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui eletto promotor a magisterii con l'Andria e con m^ro^ Giovanni da Bergamo, et otto baccalaurei da noi promossi furon dottorati dal rev^mo^ generale m^ro^ Giulio da Piacenza, cioè Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, Martiale Calabrese. Otto altri promossi ma non adottoratti da s. p. r^ma^: Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolò da Montefalco, Jacobo Appugliese, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese et il Sicolino. Io però con l'autorità di un cavalier di S. Pietro da Brescia adottorai Antonio da Urbino, il Piemontese e Constantino da Crema. Di Maggio 1558 con l'autorità del cavalier Centani adottorai in Venezia fra Paolo da S. Leo, frate Andrea d'Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro e fra Tironino da Lunano, tutti miei discepoli."

[In the name of God, on Wednesday, September the 1st, 1540, I entered on my studies in Ferrara, and finished the triennium there under the reverend Master Bartolomeo dalla Pergola. In 1543, after the chapter had been held in Ancona, I went to study in Bologna under the reverend Master Giovanni da Correggio; I arrived at Bologna in the month of July, on the day of St. James the Elder, and remained there until September, 1544, when the examiner sent me as convent-bachelor to Rimini, with the most reverend regent, Master Antonio, of the city of Penna, where I completed my time till the chapter of Venice in the year 1546. At the conclusion of the chapter I went as convent-bachelor to Siena with Master Alessandro da Montefalco, and there finished the triennium till the chapter of Assisi in 1549. But the examiner gave me a master's license on the 22nd of July, 1548, and four days after, I took the degree of doctor at Fermo. In the chapter-general of Assisi, I was made regent of Siena in 1549, and there I finished the triennium—Monsignore Gia Jacopo da Montefalco being general. At Naples: in the chapter-general of Genoa, I was made regent of Naples in 1553, by the most reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza, and there I finished the triennium. At Venice: in the general chapter of Brescia,

in 1556, I was made regent of Venice, and there finished the triennium, and in the first year of my agency I was elected inquisitor for the whole of the most illustrious dominion on the 17th of January, 1557. In the chapter-general of Assisi, 1559, Master Giovan Antonio da Cervia being elected general, I was confirmed regent and inquisitor in Venice as aforesaid. On the death of Pope Paul IV, in August of the same year, I went to visit my relations at Montalto, apostolic inquisitor. Induced by the great tumults prevailing, I returned to office on the 22nd of February, 1560, with a brief from Pope Pius IV, and remained there until the end of June, when I was called to Rome. On the 18th of July, 1560, I was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome, and was sworn into office by Cardinal Alessandrino.

[(Preachings.) In the year 1540 I preached—as yet I had never sung mass—in Montepagano, a place in Abruzzo. In the year 1541 I preached at Voghiera, a town of Ferrara, while I was a student at Ferrara. In the year 1542 I preached at Grignano, a town of the Polesine di Rovigo, and was studying at Ferrara. In the year 1543 I preached to the brotherhood of Badenara (Diedo and Manfrone were then living), and was studying in Ferrara. In the year 1544 I preached at Canda, a town of Badia, and was studying in Bologna. In the year 1545 I preached the festival sermons at Rimini in our own convent, because the pulpit of Monte Scutulo was already occupied by the master of the college in Bologna, and I was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1546 I preached at Macerata di Montefeltro, and was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1547 I preached at S. Geminiano in Tuscany, and was bachelor of the convent of Siena. In the year 1548 I preached at S. Miniato al Tedesco in Tuscany, and was bachelor of Siena. In the year 1549 I preached in Ascoli della Marca, having left Siena on account of the entrance of the Spaniards, who were introduced by Don Diego Mendozza. In the year 1550 I preached at Fano, and was regent at Siena. In the year 1551 I preached in the cathedral of Camerino, being appointed by the most reverend bishop, and was regent at

Siena. In the year 1552 I preached in the church of the Holy Apostles in Rome, and three most illustrious cardinals entertained me in Rome, and throughout that year I read the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans three days in every week. In the year 1553 I preached at Genoa, and the chapter-general was held there, and I was sent as regent to Naples. In the year 1554 I preached at Naples in the church of S. Lorenzo, and was regent there, and throughout that year I read the gospel of St. John in that church. In the year 1555 I preached in the cathedral of Perugia at the request of the most illustrious Cardinal della Corgna. In the year 1556 I was called to Rome to the general council, which was now commenced by his holiness Pope Paul IV, but I did not preach. In the year 1557 I was elected inquisitor of Venice and of its entire territory; and having to sit in court three days of every week, I did not usually preach, excepting three (?) days of the week at S. Caterina in Venice. In the year 1558 I preached at S. Apostoli in Venice, and four days of the week at S. Caterina, although I still performed the office entrusted to me by the Holy Inquisition. In the year 1559 I did not preach more than three days in the week at S. Caterina, because of the multitude of cases before the Holy Office. In the year 1560, returning to Venice as inquisitor, with the brief of his holiness, I preached in the afternoons only at S. Caterina as aforesaid.

[(Commissions.) In the year 1548 I received from the very reverend Master Bartolomeo da Macerata, minister of the March of Ancona, a commission to Fermo, for the purpose of liberating Fra Leonardo della Ripa from the prison of the vice-legate. I liberated him accordingly, and conducted him to Macerata. In the year 1549 I had commissions from the same reverend father for the whole district of Ascoli, from February to Easter. In the same year, and from the same person, I had a commission to the convent of Fabriano, and I there reinstated Frate Evangelista, of the same place. In the year 1550 I had from the same father a commission in Senegaglia, where I restored Fra Nicolò to his house, and examined his accounts. In the year 1551 I had a commission from the very reverend father-general, M^re^ Gia Jacobo da Montefalco, to visit all

the district of Montefeltro, Cagli, and Urbino. In the year 1552 I received from the most illustrious cardinal-protector a commission with respect to a law-suit pending between the guardian, Fra Tommaso da Piacenza, and a certain Fra Francesco da Osimo, who had superintended the kitchen department in Santo Apostolo. The same year I had a commission from the most reverend father-general, M^re^ Giulio da Piacenza, to the convent of Fermo, when I deprived Master Dominico da Montesanto of the guardianship, and examined the accounts of the procurator, Fra Ludovico da Pontano; and I banished Fra Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo from the province, for having inflicted certain wounds on Fra Tommaso, of the same place. In the year 1555 I had a commission from the aforesaid most reverend general to go into Calabria, and act as minister, because he had heard that the minister was dead; but being informed he was alive, I did not go. In the year 1557 I had a commission respecting Gattolino di Capodistria, and respecting Garzoneo da Veglia, with several commissions besides, of Fra Giulio di Capodistria. In the year 1559 I was made commissioner of the province of S. Antonio; I held the chapter at Bassano, and Master Cornelio Veneto was elected minister. In the year 1560 I was appointed inquisitor apostolic for all the dominions of Venice, and on the 16th of July, in the same year, was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome.

[At the chapter-general held in Brescia in the year 1556, I was elected promoter to masterships, together with Andrea and Master Giovanni da Bergamo; and at that time eight bachelors, promoted by us, were admitted to doctors' degrees by the very reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza; namely, Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, and Martiale Calabrese. Eight others were also promoted, but were not admitted to doctors' degrees by the most reverend father: Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolò da Montefalco, Jacobo Appugliese, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese, and il Sicolino. But with the

authority of a knight of S. Pietro da Brescia, I did myself confer the degree of doctor on Antonio da Urbino, il Piemontese, and Constantino da Crema. In May, 1558, with the authority of the Cavalier Centani, I also admitted, in Venice, Fra Paolo da S. Leo, Fra Andrea d'Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro, and Fra Tironino da Lunano, who were all my pupils, to be doctors.]

No. 50

De vita Sixti V, ipsius manu emendata. Altieri Library. 57 leaves.

This, it is true, is only a copy, but one in which the errors of the first writer, and the corrections made by the pope, are faithfully transcribed. The corrections are seen written over the words that have been crossed through.

It begins by describing the poverty of this pope's parents, who earned their maintenance "alieni parvique agri cultura." Above all other members of the family, he praises the Signora Camilla, who at the time he wrote had certainly but very moderate claims to notice. "Quae ita se intra modestiae atque humilitatis suae fines continuit semper, ut ex summa et celsissima fortuna fratris, praeter innocentiae atque frugalitatis famam et in relictis sibi a familia nepotibus pie ac liberaliter educandis diligentiae laudem, nihil magnopere cepisse dici possit." He enlarges on the education, advance, and early administration of the pontiff, and is particularly remarkable for the zeal with which he insists on the Christian principle obvious in the architecture of Rome, and the eulogies he bestows on that tendency.

This little work must have been composed about the year 1587. It was the intention of the author to depict the succeeding periods also. "Tum dicentur nobis plenius, cum acta ejus (Sixti) majori parata ordine prodere memoriae experiemur. Quod et facturi pro viribus nostris, si vita suppetet, omni conatu sumus; et ipse ingentia animo complexus, nec ulla mediocri contentus gloria, uberem ingeniis materiam praebiturus egregie de se condendi volumina videtur."

Now the most important question with respect to the MS. before us is, whether it really was revised by the pope.

Tempesti, who was not acquainted with the copy in the Altieri library, was in possession of a little work that had been recommended to him as having been composed by Graziani and revised by Pope Sixtus. Elsewhere also we find it stated that Graziani had begun to write a life of Sixtus V, which was revised by the pope, and passages are quoted which, a few accidental errors excepted, correspond with ours; Lagomarsini proposed to print it. In the form in which Tempesti knew it, it closely resembles, but is not identical with ours. Tempesti draws attention, among other points (p. 38), to the fact, that Graziani makes the pope begin his first procession from S. Apostoli, whereas this procession, in fact, went from Ara Coeli to S. Maria Maggiore. But this is a mistake much more likely to escape the observation of a man who had become pope, and had the affairs of the whole world on his hands, than that of the padre Maestro Tempesti. In our "Vita," however, this error is not to be found. The first words, "Verum ut acceptum divinitus honorem ab ipso Deo exordiretur, ante omnia," are the same in both. Then Graziani continues: "Supplicationes Romae ad templum Franciscanorum, quod ab Apostolis nominatur olim;" while the MS. has "supplicationes decrevit, quas ipse cum patribus et frequente populo pedibus eximia cum religione obivit a templo Franciscanorum ad S. Mariam Majorem." The passage serves to shew the relation between the two texts. Graziani appears to have made the first draft, and to have then corrected it and laid it before the pope to be revised by him.

Another biography, the next which we shall examine, relates that Sixtus had made a note on the margin of certain commentaries, to the effect that, "sororem alteram tenera aetate decessisse;" and we find that this very thing has been done on the manuscript before us. The first author had written, "Quarum altera nupsit, ex cujus filia Silvestrii profluxisse dicuntur, quos adnumerat suis pontifex, &c." These and some other words Sixtus struck out, and wrote in addition, "Quarum altera aetate adhuc tenera decessit."

This second biography further says: "In illis commentariis ab ipso Sixto, qui ea recognovit, adscriptum reperi Sixti matrem Marianam non quidem ante conceptum sed paulo ante editum filium de futura ejus magnitudine divinitus fuisse monitam." This also we find in our manuscript. The author had said that Peretti had received the prediction in a dream, "nasciturum sibi filium qui aliquando ad summas esset dignitates perventurus." The word father is marked out, and "ejus uxor partui vicina" inserted.

By these corroborations our little work acquires great authenticity: it proves itself to be immediately connected with the autograph of the pope mentioned above, and well deserves to be separately printed. The reprint should be based on the Altieri MS. and the variations from Graziani noted.

No. 51

Sixtus V, Pontifex Maximus. Altieri Library. 30 leaves.

This is the work by which we have been enabled to establish the authenticity of the preceding. I do not think that it was known either to Tempesti or any other writer.

The author wrote after the death of Sixtus. Already he complains that the pontiff's memory was injured and misrepresented by many fabulous inventions. "Sixtus V," he begins, "memoriae quibusdam gratae, aliquibus invisae, omnibus magnae, cum cura nobis et sine ambitu dicetur: curam expectatio multorum acuit (although the manuscript was never printed), ambitum senectus nobis imminens praecidit."

He considers his subject to be very important. "Vix aut rerum moles major aut majoris animi pontifex ullo unquam tempore concurrerunt."

In the first part of his little work the author relates the life of Sixtus V to the period of his elevation to the papal throne. For this purpose he derives his materials from the above-named biography, the correspondence of Sixtus, which he frequently cites, and oral communications from Cardinal Palcotto, or from a confidential member of the pope's household, called Capelletto. From these sources he obtained many remarkable particulars.

Cap. I. "Sixti genus, parentes, patria."—We here find the strange story that Sixtus had desired in his youth to be called Crinitus [the long-haired]; nay, that he even was so called in his monastery for a certain time. By this word he meant to signify a comet, and chose the name as expressing his hopes in his own future fortunes ("propter speratam semper ab se ob ea quae mox exsequar portenta nominis et loci claritatem"). There is supposed to be an allusion to this in the star of his armorial bearings; but that is certainly not a comet. The pontiff himself told Paleotto that the pears in his arms were meant to signify his father (Peretti), and that the mountains designated his native land; the lion bearing the pears was meant to imply at once magnanimity and beneficence.

II. "Ortus Sixti divinitus ejusque futura magnitudo praenunciatur."—Sixtus himself relates that his father once heard a voice calling to him in the night, "Vade, age, Perette, uxori jungere; paritura enim tibi filium est, cui Felicis nomen impones: is enim mortalium olim maximus est futurus." He was a strange fellow, without doubt, this Peretti. His wife was at that time in the service of the above-named Diana,[1] in the town. Following the intimation of this prophetic encouragement, he stole away to the town through the night and the fogs, for he dared not shew himself in the day, from fear of his creditors. An extraordinary origin this! At a later period Peretti formally assured his creditors of their safety on the strength of his son's good fortune. When he had the child in his arms, he would declare that he was carrying a pope, and would hold out the little foot for his neighbours to kiss.

III. "Nomen."—Peretti declared, when objections were made to him against the name of Felix: "Baptismo potius quam Felicis nomine carebit." The bed once took fire from a light left burning near it; the mother rushed to save her child, and found it unhurt and laughing; very much as it happened to Servius Tullius, the child of the slave-girl, whose predestined greatness was announced by the flame that played around his head while asleep. After so many centuries had passed, the prodigy was repeated, or at least, the belief in it was revived.

[1] See vol. i. p. 349, note.

IV. "Studia."—That the pontiff had tended swine was a fact that he was not fond of having repeated; and finding it inserted in the above-named commentaries, he forbade their continuance. The narration in this chapter describes the rapidity of his early progress, and how he gave his master too much work for his five bajocchi. "Vix mensem alterum operam magistro dederat, cum ille Perettum adit, stare se conventis posse negans: tam enim multa Felicem supra reliquorum captum et morem discere, ut sibi, multo plus in uno illo quam in ceteris instituendis omnibus laboranti, non expediat maximam operam minima omnium mercede consumere." The future pontiff was rather severely treated by Fra Salvatore. He got many a blow for not placing his food before him in proper order. The poor child raised himself on tiptoe, but was so little that he could still scarcely reach the level of the table.

V. Monastic life.—This is what we have related in the text when describing his mode of study, and the disputation at Assisi. The first fame of his preaching. When on a journey, the people of Belforte stopped him, and would not permit him to leave them until he had thrice preached to an immense concourse of the inhabitants.

VI. "Montalti cum Ghislerio Alexandrino jungendae familiaritatis occasio."

VII. "Per magnam multorum invidiam ad magnos multosque honores evadit."—In Venice particularly, where he carried through the printing of the Index, he had much to endure. He was on one occasion compelled to leave the city, and hesitated to return. Cardinal Carpi, who had been his protector from the time of the often-cited dispensation, gave the Franciscans of Venice to understand that unless Montalto were suffered to remain there, not one of their order should continue in the city. Yet he could not maintain his ground there. The brethren of his own order accused him before the Council of Ten, charging him with occasioning disorders in the republic, namely by refusing absolution to those who were in possession of forbidden books ("qui damnatos libros domi retineant"). He was compelled to return to Rome, where he became consultor to the Inquisition.

VIII. "Romanae inquisitionis consultor, sui ordinis

procurator, inter theologos congregationis Tridentini concilii adscribitur."—By the Franciscans of Rome also, Montalto was received only on the express recommendation of Cardinal Carpi, and the latter sent him his meals; he supported him in every position, and recommended him on his death-bed to Cardinal Ghislieri.

IX. "Iter in Hispaniam."—He accompanied Buoncompagno, afterwards Gregory XIII. Even at that time there was by no means a good understanding between them. Montalto was sometimes obliged to travel in the baggage-waggon. "Accidit nonnunquam ut quasi per injuriam aut necessitatem jumento destitutus vehiculis quibus impedimenta comportabantur deferri necesse fuerit." Many other slights followed.

X. "Post honorifice delatum episcopatum per iniquorum hominum calumnias cardinalatus Montalto maturatur."—The nephew of Pius V was also opposed to him: "alium veterem contubernalem evehendi cupidus." The pope was told, amongst other things, that four carefully-closed chests had been taken into the apartments of Montalto, who had lodged himself with exceeding splendour and luxury. Pius hereupon went himself unexpectedly to the monastery. He found bare walls, and asked what were the contents of the chests, which were still in the room: "Books, holy father," said Montalto, "that I propose to take with me to St. Agatha" (St. Agatha was his bishopric), and he opened one of the chests. Pius was highly pleased, and soon afterwards made him cardinal.

XI. "Montalti dum cardinalis fuit vita et mores." Gregory deprived him of his pension, which many thought to be significant of his future pontificate:—"Levis enim aulicorum quorundam superstitio diu credidit, pontificum animis occultam quandam in futuros successores obtrectationem insidere."

XII. "Francisci Peretti caedes incredibili animi aequitate tolerata."

XIII. "Pontifex M. magna patrum consensione declaratur."

Then follows the second part.

"Hactenus Sixti vitam per tempora digessimus; jam

hinc per species rerum et capita, ut justa hominis aestimatio cuique in promptu sit, exequar."

But of this part only three chapters are to be found :—"Gratia in benemeritos;—pietas in Franciscanorum ordinem;—publica securitas."

The last is by far the most important, on account of the description it furnishes of the times of Gregory XIII. I did not make a complete transcript of the whole, but will at least give an extract :—"Initio quidem nonnisi qui ob caedes et latrocinia proscripti erant, ut vim magistratuum effugerent, genus hoc vitae instituerant ut aqua et igne prohibiti latebris silvarum conditi aviisque montium ferarum ritu vagantes miseram anxiamque vitam furtis propemodum necessariis sustentarent. Verum ubi rapinae dulcedo et impunitae nequitiae spes alios atque alios extremae improbitatis homines eodem expulit, coepit quasi legitimum aliquod vel mercimonii vel artificii genus latrocinium frequentari. Itaque certis sub ducibus, quos facinora et saevitia nobilitassent, societates proscriptorum et sicariorum ad vim, caedes, latrocinia coibant. Eorum duces ex audacia vel scelere singulos aestimabant: facinorosissimi et saevissima ausi maxime extollebantur ac decurionum centurionumque nominibus militari prope more donabantur. Hi agros et itinera non jam vago maleficio sed justo pene imperio infesta habebant. . . . Denique operam ad caedem inimicorum, stupra virginum et alia a quibus mens refugit, factiosis hominibus et scelere alieno ad suam exaturandam libidinem egentibus presente pretio locare: eoque res jam devenerat ut nemo se impune peccare posse crederet nisi cui proscriptorum aliquis et exulum periculum praestaret. Iis fiebat rebus ut non modo improbi ad scelera, verum etiam minime mali homines ad incolumitatem ejusmodi feras bestias sibi necessarias putarent. . . . Id proceribus et principibus viris perpetuo palam usurpari. . . . Et vero graves Jacobo Boncompagno susceptae cum primariis viris inimicitiae ob violatam suarum aedium immunitatem diu fortunam concussere. Procerum plerique, sive quos aes alienum exhauserat, sive quorum ambitio et luxus supra opes erat, sive quos odia et ulciscendi libido ad cruenta consilia rejecerant, non modo patrocinium latronum suscipere, sed foedus cum illis certis

conditionibus sancire ut operam illi ad caedem locarent mercede impunitatis et perfugii. Quum quo quisque sicariorum patrono uteretur notum esset, si cui quid surreptum aut per vim ablatum foret, ad patronum deprecatorem confugiebatur, qui sequestrum simulans, utrinque raptor, tum praedae partem a sicariis tum operae mercedem a supplicibus, aliquando recusantis specie, quod saevissimum est rapinae genus, extorquebat. Nec defuere qui ultro adversus mercatores atque pecuniosos eorumque filios, agros etiam et bona ex destinato immitterent, iisque deinde redimendis ad seque confugientibus operam venderent, casum adeo miserantes ut ex animo misereri credi possent. . . . Lites sicariorum arbitrio privatis intendebantur, summittebantur vi adacti testes, metu alii a testimonio dicendo deterrebantur. . . . Per urbes factiones exoriri, distinctae coma et capillitio, ut hi in laevam, illi in dexteram partem vel villos alerent comarum vel comam a fronte demitterent. Multi, ut fidem partium alicui addictam firmarent, uxores necabant, ut filias, sorores, affines eorum inter quos censeri vellent ducerent: alii consanguinearum viros clam seu palam trucidabant, ut illas iis quos in suas partes adlegerant collocarent. Vulgare ea tempestate fuit ut cuique sive forma seu opes mulieris cujuscunque placuissent, eam procerum aliquo interprete vel invitis cognatis uxorem duceret: neque raro accidit ut praedivites nobilesque homines exulum abjectissimis et rapto viventibus grandi cum dote filias collocare vel eorum indotatas filias ipsi sibi jusso matrimonio jungere cogerentur. . . . Sceleratissimi homines tribunalia constituere, forum indicere, judicia exercere, sontes apud se accusare, testibus urgere, tormentis veritatem extorquere, denique solemni formula damnare: alios vero a legitimis magistratibus in vincula conjectos, causa per prōrem (procuratorem) apud se dicta, absolvere, eorum accusatores ac judices poena talionis condemnare. Coram damnatos praesens poena sequebatur: si quid statutum in absentes foret, tantisper mora erat dum sceleris ministri interdum cum mandatis perscriptis riteque obsignatis circumitterentur, qui per veram vim agerent quod legum ludibrio agebatur. . . . Dominos et reges se cujus collibuisset provinciae, ne solennibus quidem inaugurationum parcentes, dixere multi et scripsere. . . . Non semel sacra

supellectile e templis direpta, augustissimam et sacratissimam eucharistiam in silvas ac latibula asportarunt, qua ad magica flagitia et execramenta abuterentur. . . . Mollitudo Gregoriani imperii malum in pejus convertit. Sicariorum multitudo infinita, quae facile ex rapto cupiditatibus conniventium vel in speciem tantum irascentium ministrorum largitiones sufficeret. Publica fide securitas vel petentibus concessa vel sponte ablata: arcibus, oppidis, militibus praeficiebantur. Eos, velut ab egregio facinore reduces, multitudo, quocunque irent, spectando effusa mirabatur, laudabat. . . ."

No. 52

Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V. [Memoirs of the pontificate of Sixtus V.] Altieri Library, XIV. a. iv. fol. 480 leaves.

This circumstantial work is not entirely new and unknown. Tempesti had a copy taken from the archives of the Capitol, and he describes the author of it as the Anonimo Capitolino.

But Tempesti is extremely unjust towards this work. He has copied it in numberless passages, yet in the general estimate at the commencement of his history, he declares it to be unworthy of credit.

Yet it is without doubt the best work that has been written in relation to Sixtus V.

The author had the most important documents at his command. This is perfectly obvious from his narrative, and he has himself assured us of it; as regarded German affairs, for example, he says, "Mi risolvo di narrar minutamente quanto ne trovo in lettere e relationi autentiche."

With regard to the financial arrangements of Sixtus V he has the most exact information, and follows them step by step throughout. Yet he proceeds to this part of his task with infinite discretion. "The most extravagant and startling proposals," he says, "were made to him for the raising of money, but all wearing a very plausible appearance: their character being such, I do not venture to commit them all to paper, and will but adduce some few, which I have seen set forth in the original letters of the inventors."

Our author had written a life of Gregory XIII, and therefore it is, perhaps, that he has been supposed to be Maffei; but I can find no other reason whatever for identifying him with that Jesuit.

It is to be regretted that this work also is only a fragment. Even from the beginning the earlier events are wanting. They were written, but the work—our manuscript, at least—breaks off in the midst of a sentence. The measures taken in the first years of the pope are then examined, but the writer comes down only to the year 1587.

We might the better console ourselves for the loss of the first part, because we are elsewhere so well provided with good information relating to that period; but the absence of the latter portion is exceedingly to be regretted. It is a kind of European history, which the author communicates from really authentic and credible authorities. With respect to the year 1588, the "Annus climactericus" of the world, we should, without doubt, have found most valuable information from this writer.

Let us observe the reasonable manner in which he expresses himself at the beginning of his work. "I have left no path untried by which I could arrive at the light of truth, but have diligently opened out all I could find, and walked therein with unwearied assiduity, as will be seen by the account I render of the writings and reports to which I have had recourse in the composition and texture of this history. I pray God, the author and father of all truth, that as He has given me the fixed determination to utter no falsehood with the view to deceive others, so He will grant me such light as that I shall never say what is false from having been myself deceived."

This is a prayer altogether worthy of a historian.

At the election of cardinals in 1587, he concludes with these words: "E le speranze spesso contrarie alle proprie apparenze." [Hopes are often contrary to what they seem.]

I have adopted a great part of his statements, after having compared them with those of other authentic sources: what remains could not be added here without exceeding the compass of this work.

No. 53

Sixti V Pontificis Maximi vita a Guido Gualterio Sangenesino descripta. [Life of Sixtus V, by Guido Gualterio of Sangeno.] MS. in the Altieri Library, viii., f. 1. 54 leaves.

Tempesti alludes to a diary kept in the times of Sixtus V by an author of this name.[1] It is the same author who wrote the biography now before us, and in this work he refers to the earlier one. His labours had been especially rewarded by Sixtus V.

The copy in the Altieri palace is entirely authentic and perhaps unique: it contains remarks in the author's handwriting. "Me puero cum in patria mea Sangeno, &c.," he says.

He wrote his work soon after the death of Sixtus V, in the early part of the pontificate of Clement VIII, of whom he often speaks. He mentions that the intelligence of the conversion of Henry IV had just arrived, so that we may with certainty assume the year 1593 as that in which he composed his book.

The author is also particularly worthy of credit. He was closely connected with the family of Peretti. Maria Felice, daughter of the Signora Camilla, was brought up in Sangeno; the wife of the author was her intimate friend. He was himself familiarly acquainted with Antonio Bosio, the secretary of Montalto's first protector, Cardinal Carpi. "Summa mihi cum eo necessitudo intercedebat." Thus he was particularly well informed in regard to the earlier circumstances of the pope's life.

He devotes to them the first part of his work.

He informs us how Fra Felice first became acquainted with Pope Paul IV. A Minorite church in the March had been burnt, but the host remained uninjured. There must have been some particular circumstance connected with this fact; suffice it to say, that a great consultation was held in

[1] The beginning of it was printed in 1844, in the Archivio Storico Italiano, Appendice No. 8, p. 345.

relation to it. Cardinal inquisitors, generals of orders, and many other prelates, were assembled. Cardinal Carpi brought Montalto with him, and insisted that this favourite of his should also be allowed to give his opinion. Montalto gave it accordingly; all agreed that it was the best, and Carpi departed in great good humour. "In ejus sententiam ab omnibus itum est. Surgens cardinalis Carpensis dixit: Probe noram quem virum huc adduxissem."

The description of the future pontiff's Aristotelian labours is remarkable.

The edition of Posius, who was in fact a disciple of Montalto, is directly ascribed by Gualterius to Montalto himself. "Aristotelis Averroisque opera ex pluribus antiquis bibliothecis exemplaria nactus emendavit, expurgavit, aptoque ordine in tomos, ut vocant, undecim digessit. Mediam et magnam Averrois in libros posteriorem expositionem apta distributione Aristotelis textui accommodavit: mediam Averrois expositionem in septem metaphysicorum libros invenit, exposuit, ejusdem Averrois epitomata quaesita et epistolas suis restituit locis, solutionibus contradictionum a doctissimo Zunara editis (wherein the contradictions between Aristotle and Averroes were reconciled) centum addidit."

He next delineates the character of his hero: "Magnanimus dignoscebatur, ad iram tamen pronus. Somni potens: cibi parcissimus: in otio nunquam visus nisi aut de studiis aut de negotiis meditans."

Thus he arrives at the conclave. Whereupon he begins to describe the acts of Sixtus V, classed under his different virtues: "Religio, Pietas, Justitia, Fortitudo, Magnificentia, Providentia."

Singular as this classification is, we are, nevertheless, made acquainted with many beautiful things in proceeding through it.

Earnestly has Gualterius laboured to defend the pope against the complaints made of him on account of his imposts. But let us observe how he has done this. "Imprimis ignorare videntur, pontificem Romanum non in nostras solum facultates sed in nos etiam ipsos imperium habere." What would the present times say to such a right on the part of the state?

He has devoted particular attention to the architectural works of Sixtus V, and his remarks on the subject are very interesting.

He describes the condition of the old Lateran. "Erat aula permagna quam concilii aulam vocabant (without doubt on account of the Lateran councils held down to the time of Leo X); erant porticus tractusque cum sacellis nonnullis et cubiculis ab aula usque ad S. Sabae quam S. Salvatoris capellam vocant. Erant s. scalarum gradus et porticus vetustissima e qua veteres pontifices, qui Lateranum incolebant, populo benedicebant. Aedes illae veteres maxima populi veneratione celebrari solebant, cum in illis non pauca monumenta esse crederentur Hierosolymis usque deportata. Sed fortasse res in superstitionem abierat: itaque Sixtus, justis de causis ut credere par est, servatis quibusdam probatioribus monumentis, sanctis scalis alio translatis, omnia demolitus est."

We perceive that the author submits, but he is sensible of the wrong done. No less remarkable is the description of St. Peter's as it was at that time (1593).

"In Vaticano tholum maximum tholosque minores atque adeo sacellum majus quod majorem capellam vocant aliaque minora sacella et aedificationem totam novi templi Petro Apostolo dicati penitus absolvit. At plumbeis tegere laminis, ornamentaque quae animo destinarat adhibere, templique pavimenta sternere non potuit, morte sublatus. At quae supersunt Clemens VIII persecuturus perfecturusque creditur, qui tholum ipsum plumbeis jam contexit laminis, sanctissimae crucis vexillum aeneum inauratum imposuit, templi illius pavimentum jam implevit, aequavit, stravit pulcherrime, totique templo aptando et exornando diligentissimam dat operam: cum vero ex Michaelis Angeli forma erit absolutum, antiquitatem omnem cito superabit."

We learn from this that there was still nothing else contemplated but the completion of Michael Angelo's plan, and it even appears as though the whole had been really contemplated (penitus absolvit).

We have already seen one remarkable notice of the colossal statues. I will here add another.

The author is speaking of the open space on the Quirinal.

Of its adornment under Sixtus V he says: "Ornavit perenni fonte et marmoreis Praxitelis et Phidiae equis, quos vetustate cum eorum rectoribus deformatos una cum basi marmorea in pristinam formam concinnavit et e vetere sede ante Constantini thermas in alteram areae partem prope S. Pauli monachorum aedes transtulit." In old plates also, one of which is copied in Mier (see his Geschichte der Kunst, ii. 299, and the illustrations, Plate xv.), the colossal statues appear in a greatly mutilated form, very much as the Venetian ambassadors describe them to be (see *ante*, p. 25). It is obvious that they were put into their present condition under Sixtus V.

No. 54

Galesini Vita Sixti V. Vatican, 5438. 122 leaves.

A manuscript without any particular title; on the first leaf is the following dedication:—

"Sanctissimo patri Sixto V, pontifici maximo, vigilantissimo ecclesiae Dei pastori, providissimo principi, sapientissimo universae reipublicae christianae moderatori et rectori, commentarium hoc de vita rebusque ab eo in singulos annos diesque publice et pontificie actis gestisque distributum ac luculenter scriptum Petrus Galesinus magno et summo benignissimoque patrono singularis in illum pietatis atque observantiae ergo in perpetuum dicavit."

These words suffice to shew that we have in this instance rather a panegyric than a biography before us.

The author considers it remarkable that Sixtus should have been the fourth child born to his parents—"sol enim quarto die creatus est"—and that he was elected pope on the day of the foundation of Rome.

Our author's narrative of the pontiff's early years is of very fragmentary character. But here, also, we find another proof that a young man of talent attains to the best development of his faculties under poverty and severity of discipline. In the Peretti family, the rule of the mother

appears to have been a rigid one: "Matris metu, cum aliquid mali se commeruisse videret, in omnes partes corporis se excitavit."

His labours at his villa are thus alluded to: "Opus manu faciebat, ita ut vel hortos coleret vel arbores sereret, aut aliqua ratione, instar diligentissimi agricolae, egregiae insitionis opera consereret, interlocaret."

In the various acts of his pontificate, the strict religious spirit to which Sixtus surrendered himself comes very prominently forward; in regard to his buildings, for example: "Ut urbis opera et idolatriae simulacra, inanis et falsae gloriolae insanarumque superstitionum monumenta, adhuc in urbe jam diu nimis inveterata quadam rerum olim Romanarum a christiano cultu abhorrentium curiositate, . . . ad christianae pietatis ornamentum pertraheret."

The origin of the Lateran palace.—"Pontifex cum vix cubiculum inveniret quo se reciperet, continuo jussit aedes pontificia majestate dignas in Laterano extrui: valde enim absurdum absonumque duxit basilicam Lateranensem, omnium ecclesiarum matrem, proprium pontificis Romani episcopatum, aedes non habere quae cum tanta episcopatus dignitate convenirent."

He considers that Rome was upon the whole very religious. "Dat magna pietatis et integritatis indicia. Clericorum disciplina fere est ad pristinos sanctissimos mores restituta, ratio divini cultus administratioque sacrarum aedium ad probatum veterem morem plane perducta. . . . Ubique in ipsis ecclesiis genuflexiones: ubique in omni fere urbis regione fideles qui sacra illa sexta feria (Good-Friday) infinitis verberibus miserandum in modum propria terga ita lacerabant ut sanguis in terram usque defluxerit."

No. 55

Vita Sixti V anonyma. Vatican, 5563.

A few leaves only relating to the early years of Sixtus V. His name Felix is here attributed to a dream of his father.

No. 56.

Relatione al Papa Sixto V. [Report to Sixtus V.]
41 leaves.

By a member of the Curia who did not frequent the palace, and who knew only just so much as was known to every one. It was originally addressed to a friend who desired to be informed respecting the acts of Sixtus V, and afterwards to the pope himself.

In works like that now before us, written by people of ordinary capacity, who do but come forth accidentally from the general crowd, it is interesting to observe the general effect produced by a government on the great masses of the public.

In the little work before us, which is written throughout in the stricter religious spirit which began to prevail at the close of the sixteenth century, we perceive first of all the powerful impression produced by the conversion of pagan into Christian monuments. "The holy crosses on the summits of the obelisks, and the statues of the principal apostles on the columns, obliterate the memory of the ancient idolatries. In like manner the cross placed in the hand of the statue signifying Rome, which stands on the tower of the Capitol, shews that nowadays, Rome, that is the pope, does not use the sword to subjugate the world, as did the infidel Roman emperors, but the cross to mark the day of salvation to all mankind." It is a striking fact, that these ideas of spiritual domination should have been so popular even among people of inferior consideration. Further on, the author denies that the pope intended to procure himself greater importance among foreign princes by means of his treasure, in order, as some said, to appear very wise,—"per esser savioni." He did not need this; his purpose was rather to reward obedient princes, and to punish the refractory: "Col tesoro castigherà i prencipi ribelli di santa chiesa, et ajuterà i prencipi obbedienti nelle imprese cattoliche." He applauds Sixtus for having excommunicated Henry IV. "Immediately on being made

pope, he turned to God for aid, and then deprived the wicked heretical king of the kingdom of Navarre, . . . and principally by these spiritual arms the popes have made and unmade emperors and kings." That priests and monks are to be considered as a kind of papal soldiery, is here for once admitted even by the Roman side. "The pope has large garrisons in all kingdoms, which are the friars, monks, and priests; as numerous, well paid, and provided for in peace as in war. In affairs of religion, he is resolved to be sole and absolute master, as is the will of God; and blessed are those people who shall have the most obedient princes. If sovereigns would maintain the principle of discussing affairs of state rather with priests than with their secular counsellors, believe me, they would keep their subjects obedient and faithful." All the assertions of the politico-ecclesiastical doctrine are here brought forward in the popular comprehension of them. But what was this secular authority of the pope when compared with the power he possesses of exalting a poor servant of God to be a saint? This canonization which Sixtus V had renewed, our author cannot sufficiently praise. "For the greater glory of God, he has dedicated certain days as feasts to saints who were not in the calendar, partly to the end that Christians may have opportunity to spend so much the more time for the honour of God and the salvation of their souls through the intercession of saints, by abstaining from servile works, and partly that the friends of God may be duly honoured." Among other reasons he says that it will "prove to infidels and false Christians, that the true servants of Christ the Saviour are alone able to make the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, and the blind to see, or to raise the dead to life."

No. 57

Relatione presentata nell' ecc^mo collegio dal cl^mo Sig^r Lorenzo Priuli, ritornato di Roma. 1586, 2 *Luglio.* [Report of Lorenzo Priuli on his return from Rome.]

From the Roman documents, we proceed to those of Venice.

Lorenzo Priuli had witnessed the latter years of Gregory XIII, and the earlier ones of Sixtus V; he is full of the contrasts they present.

But we must not permit ourselves to be too much influenced by his opinions; the early years of a pope almost always produced a more favourable impression than his later life; either because the powers required for governing a state necessarily decline with increasing years, or because there is gradually discovered in every man some attribute that one could wish absent.

But Priuli is not unjust. He considers that the administration of Gregory was also very useful to the Church. "Nella bontà della vita, nel procurare il culto ecclesiastico, l'osservanza del concilio, la residenza dei vescovi, nell' eccellenza della dottrina, l'uno legale l'altro teologicale, si possono dire assai simili." [In respect to purity of life, provision for public worship, observance of the council, and enforcing the residence of bishops; in excellence of learning,—the one legal, the other theological,—they may be said to be much alike.] He thanks God for having given to his Church such excellent rulers.

We perceive that foreign ambassadors were also influenced by the modes of thought then prevailing at the papal court.

Priuli considers the election of Sixtus V as almost miraculous,—the immediate interposition of the Holy Spirit. He reminds his native city that it had become eminent and prosperous by means of its good understanding with the popes, and advises them above all things to maintain it.

No. 58

Relatione del cl^mo Sig^r Gio Gritti ritornato ambasciatore da Roma anno 1589. [Report of Giovanni Gritti on returning from his embassy to Rome.]

In the Venetian archives there is only a defective copy.

It was with the utmost eagerness that I took up another, which I found in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan, but this

also contains just as much as the former, and not a word more.

This is all the more to be regretted, because the author proceeds most systematically to his work. He proposes first to treat of the papal states, and then of the person of the pope, whose great admirer he announces himself to be; thirdly, he means to propound the views of the pontiff; and finally, to discourse of the cardinals and the court.

But there is only a small part of the first division remaining. The manuscript breaks off precisely where the author is about to shew the manner in which the revenues increased under Sixtus V. Nevertheless, I cannot doubt that the work was completed. What we have is at least no sketch, but certainly part of an elaborate work.

Yet it is extraordinary that even in the archives there is only a defective copy to be found.

No. 59

Relatione di Roma dell' ambasciatore Badoer K^r relata in senato anno 1589. [Badoer's report of his embassy to Rome.]

This report is not to be found in the Venetian archives. It is in the collection of the Quirini family, but only as a fragment.

There are eight leaves, which contain nothing but a few notices relating to the rural districts.

Badoer remarks that Venice had estranged her adherents of the March by delivering them up so readily to the pope, or by causing them to be put to death at his request.

The increase of the commerce of Ancona had been talked of, but the ambassador does not fear that this would prove injurious to the Venetians.

"Essendo state imposte allora (at the time of his departure) da Sisto V doi per cento sopra tutte le mercantie, le quali a querelle d'Anconitani furono poi levate, non era gionta in 14 mesi alcuna nave in quel porto." [A tax amounting to two per cent. having been imposed on all

merchandise by Sixtus V, which was afterwards taken off on the complaints made by the people of Ancona. No ship had arrived in that port for the space of fourteen months.]

We perceive that the two imposts of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, although afterwards repealed, yet, from the uncertainty of gain to which the merchants suddenly found themselves exposed, contributed very largely to the decline of trade in Ancona. At that time the principal part of the business was in camlets and furs, but the Jews found no suitable opportunity for exchange in cloth or other wares. The customs were farmed for 14,000 scudi only, yet even this sum was never realized.

Badoer is moreover desirous that the example of Spain should be followed, and that such friends as Venice may have in the March should be pensioned. He breaks off just as he is preparing to name those friends.

No. 60

Dispacci Veneti 1573–1590.

No one could suppose that with so rich a profusion of documents one could still feel in want of information. Yet this had nearly been the case in the present instance. We have seen what an evil star presided over the destiny of Venetian reports; the Roman records elucidate only the first part of this pontificate with any fulness of detail. I should have seen myself reduced to Tempesti for this latter part,—one of the most important epochs,—had not the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors come to my assistance.

In Vienna I had already copied the whole series of Venetian despatches from 1573 to 1590, which are preserved in the archives, partly in authentic copies, and partly in rubricaries prepared for the use of the government.

In making oneself master of the first, there is indeed a certain difficulty; a monthly budget sometimes extends to 100 leaves; in their voyage by sea they have received injury from the sea-water; they crumble on being opened,

and the breathing is affected by an offensive dust. The rubricaries are more easily managed; they are protected by covers, and their abridged form facilitates the selection of matters that are really essential, from the thousand insignificant affairs which Italian states may have had to transact among themselves, but which do not merit historical reproduction.

We find here the reports of Paolo Tiepolo to 1576, of Antonio Tiepolo to 1578, of Zuanne Correr to 1581, Lunardo Donato to 1583, Lorenzo Priuli to 1586, Zuanne Gritti to 1589, and Alberto Badoer to 1591.

In addition to these regular ambassadors, there occasionally appear envoys extraordinary: Zuanne Soranzo, from October, 1581 to February, 1582, who was deputed on account of the dissensions concerning the patriarchate of Aquileia; the embassy of congratulation to Sixtus in 1585, which consisted of Marc Antonio Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini, Marino Grimani, and Lunardo Donato, who caused their common report to be drawn up by the secretary Padavino: finally, Lunardo Donato was again sent on account of the political complications of the year 1589. The despatches of this last are by far the most important. The relations existing at that time between the republic and the pope assumed importance, even for the general history of the world. They are fortunately to be found in all their extent, under the following title: "Registro delle lettere dell' ill^mo signor Lunardo Donato K^r ambasciatore straordinario al sommo pontefice; comincia a 13 ottobre 1589 e finisce a 19 decembre 1589."

But we have not even yet enumerated all the collected documents relating to the proceedings of the ambassadors. There was besides a special and private correspondence of the ambassadors with the Council of Ten, and we find this very neatly written on parchment; the first volume has the title: "Libro primo da Roma, secreto del consiglio di X sotto il serenissimo D. Aluise Mocenigo inclito duca di Venetia." The subsequent volumes have corresponding titles.

I am perfectly aware of the objections that may be made to the use of despatches from ambassadors. It is true

that they are written under the impression of the moment, are seldom quite impartial; often bear upon particular circumstances only, and are by no means to be implicitly relied on, or directly adopted. But let any man name the memorials or writings that can be received altogether without hesitation. In all cases certain grains of salt are indispensable. The ambassadors were at all events contemporary witnesses, present on the spot, and bound to observe what passed; they must therefore be wholly destitute of talent, if their reports, when read to some extent, do not give an impression of reality to the events which they describe, and make us feel almost as though we were actually present.

Now our Venetians were men of great ability, and of much practical experience, and I consider these despatches highly instructive.

But how far should we be carried if I should proceed to give extracts in this place from this long series of volumes?

My readers will doubtless permit me to abide by the rule I have laid down, of avoiding extracts from despatches in this Appendix. A lengthened series of them would alone convey an adequate idea of their contents.

I will, on the other hand, touch upon two important missions, both falling within the times of Sixtus V.

No. 61

Relazione all' ill^mo^ e rev^mo^ cardinale Rusticucci segr^io^ di N. Sig^re^ papa Sisto V delle cose di Poloma intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinale Bolognetto in quattro anni ch'egli è stato nuntio in quella provincia, divisa in due parti: nella prima si tratta de' danni che fanno le eresie in tutto quel regno, del termine in che si trova il misero stato ecclesiastico, e delle difficoltà e speranze che si possono avere intorno a rimedii: nella seconda si narrano li modi tenuti dal cardinale Bolognetto per superare quelle difficoltà, et il profitto che fece, et il suo negoziare in tutto il tempo della sua nuntiatura: di Horatio Spannocchj, già segr^io^ del detto sig^re^ card^le^ Bolognetto. [Report of

Horatio Spannocchi presented to Cardinal Rusticucci, secretary of Sixtus V, in relation to the religious affairs of Poland, and the proceedings of Cardinal Bolognetto during the four years that he was nuncio in that province, etc.]

The secretary of Bolognetto, Spannocchi, who had been with him in Poland, employed the leisure of a winter's residence in Bologna in the preparation of this report, which is not only circumstantial, but also very instructive.

He first describes the extraordinary extension of Protestantism in Poland, "non lasciando pure una minima città o castello libero" [not leaving even the smallest town or castle untouched]. He attributes this phenomenon, as may be readily supposed, principally to secular considerations; he maintains that the nobles inflicted fines on their vassals if they did not attend the Protestant churches.

Moreover, in Poland, as in the rest of Europe, a state of indifference was beginning to prevail: "The difference between being a Catholic or a member of a different sect, is treated with jesting or derision, as a matter without the least importance."

The Germans, of whom some had settled and married, even in the smallest towns, had a large share in the diffusion of Protestant doctrines; but, still more dangerous, according to our author, were the Italians, who propagated the opinion that in Italy and under the cloak of Catholicism, doubts were entertained even of the immortality of the soul; that they were only waiting an opportunity to declare themselves openly against the pope.

He next describes the condition into which the clergy had fallen under the circumstances.

"Great numbers of the poor clergy are destitute even of food, partly because the rulers of the cities—for the most part, if not wholly, heretics—have taken possession of the goods of the church, either to increase their own patrimony, to endow with them the ministers of their own sect, or to bestow them in different modes on profane persons; and partly because they refuse to pay tithes, although due from them, not only by the divine law and that of the canon, but

also more particularly by the especial constitution of that kingdom. Whence the unhappy priests in many places, not having wherewith to sustain themselves, abandon the churches. A third cause is, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction has fallen to decay, together with the privileges of the clergy, so that nowadays there is no difference made between the property of churches or monasteries and that of secular persons—citations and sentences are set at nought. . . . I have myself heard the principal senators declare that they would rather suffer themselves to be cut to pieces than consent to any law by which they should be compelled to pay tithes as a due to any Catholic whatever. It was publicly decreed in the council six years since, that no one should be pursued for payment of these tithes by any court, whether ecclesiastical or civil; and since, from various impediments, the said composition was not made in the next council, they continue to refuse payment, nor will the different officers execute any sentence in reference to the said tithes."

He considers it very difficult for a nuncio to effect anything. It would be impossible to introduce the Inquisition, or even more rigid laws respecting marriage; already the very name of the pope was abominated; the clergy considered it their duty to defend the interests of the country against Rome; and there was only the king on whom they could reckon.

The Palatine Radziwill of Wilna had communicated to the king an exhortation to war against the Turks, composed by a disciple of Zwingli. The nation was herein recommended first of all to reform its proceedings, and above all to put away the images, the worship of which was considered by the author to be idolatry. The king would not suffer the discourse to pass in that form. He wrote the following words on the margin with his own hand: "Praestat hoc omittere quam falso imputare et orationem monitoriam religionis antiquissimae suggillatione infamem reddere. O utinam faciant novae sectae nos tam diuturna pace florentes atque fecit sancta religio catholica veros secutores suos." A declaration on which the writer of this report builds great hopes.

He next proceeds to an investigation of Bolognetto's undertakings, which he classes under seven heads :—

1. Restoration of the papal authority.
2. Persecution of heretics.
3. Reform of the clergy : "Modi per moderare la licentiosa vita di sacerdoti scandalosi."
4. Re-establishment of divine worship.
5. Union of the clergy.
6. Defence of their rights.
7. Measures with respect to the whole Christian community.

I have already described in general terms the efficiency of Bolognetto in carrying out these designs. By way of example, I add the following more minute account of his influence on the English negotiation.

"The queen of England requested from the king of Poland a license for her English merchants, that they might introduce their merchandise, and sell it freely throughout his kingdom, where the merchants of the kingdom in Danzig only were now permitted to sell, requiring at the same time that they should have permission to open a public warehouse in Thorn, which is the most celebrated port of Prussia, after that of Danzig. Also that they might thence afterwards carry their wares themselves to all the fairs held in Poland, whither commonly none may carry merchandise except the merchants of the country, who are for the most part Germans, Prussians, or Italians. And on the same occasion this pretended queen further requested that in the decree for this concession, it should be declared that no molestation was to be offered to her merchants on account of their religion, but that they should be suffered to execute it freely after their own manner whithersoever they might go throughout the kingdom. This proposal gave universal satisfaction to all the Polish nobility. The people of Danzig alone opposed it bravely, shewing that from this concession, the most extreme injury would result to their port, so renowned and so famous through all the world, and that the hope of lower prices would prove fallacious, principally because the foreign merchants, when they should have the power of selling at their own good pleasure, and could

hold their merchandise a long time in their hands, would only sell them for a much higher price than that now required by the merchants of the country. Nevertheless, the equal privileges which the queen of England offered to the merchants of Poland, of power to do the same thing in England, seemed already to have induced the king to grant all that was demanded; which had no sooner come to the ears of Bolognetto, than he went to seek his majesty, and shewed him with the most effectual arguments, how monstrous a thing it would be to acknowledge so scandalous a sect by his public decree; and how it was not without some concealed hope or deceit of some kind that yonder pernicious woman desired to have the Anglican sect declared by public decree in possession of power to exercise its rites in that kingdom, where all the world knows but too well that every man is suffered to believe whatever he may please in matters of religion:—by these and other most sufficient reasonings, King Stephen became so fully convinced, that he promised to make no mention whatever of religion in any agreement that he should enter into with that queen or her merchants."

It will be perceived, that this report contains notices of a purely political nature.

In conclusion, the author goes more particularly into this part of the subject.

He describes Poland as divided into a multitude of factions. Dissensions, in the first place, between the different provinces, and then between the clergy and the laity in each province; between the senators and the provincial deputies; between the more ancient and higher nobles and those of inferior degree.

The high-chancellor Zamoyski is represented as extremely powerful. The grant of all appointments was vested in him, more particularly since a vice-chancellor and a king's secretary had entered wholly into his interests: "da che è stato fatto il Baranosky vicecancelliere et il Tolisky segretario del re, persone poco fa incognite."

Generally speaking, the appointments made by Stephen Bathory had been far from securing universal approbation. Attention was already directed to his successor, Sigismund:

"amatissimo di tutti i Polacchi" [greatly beloved by all the Poles].

We now possess also very comprehensive reports from Bolognetto himself, in Theiner's Ann. Eccles. tom. iii. 716–721, 727–736, 760–787.

No. 62

Discorso del molto illustre e rev^mo Mons^r Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la religione cattolica in Alemagna. 1588. [Discourse of Monsignor Minuccio Minucci on the means of restoring the Catholic religion in Germany.]

A very important document, of which I have made extensive use (see especially vol. i. p. 518, and following).

Minucci served long under Gregory in Germany, and makes very frequent appearance in Maffei. In the documents before us, he endeavours to explain the existing state of things, to the end, as he says, that Rome might learn to refuse the patient dangerous medicines.

He complains from the beginning, that so little pains were taken on the Catholic side to gain over the Protestant princes. He then proceeds—for his mission was during the times of eager and still undecided conflicts—to examine the attacks of the Protestants on Catholicism: "I have determined to relate the contrivances which the heretics daily put in practice for the purpose of drying up or utterly destroying the very root of Catholicism." Finally, he describes the manner in which they ought to be withstood.

He shews himself to be unusually well informed in German affairs, yet he cannot always repress a certain astonishment, when he compares the state of things as they then were with the tranquillity and order of Italy or Spain. We have ourselves alluded to the restless proceedings of Casimir of the Palatinate. Let us observe the amazement they occasioned to a foreigner.

"Casimir, after having set the authority of the emperor at naught in a thousand ways, but chiefly in burning near

Spires the munitions that were on their way to Flanders, under the safe-conduct of the emperor; after having offended the king of Spain, not by that act only, but also by the frequent assistance afforded to his rebels in Flanders, and by having granted a site in his territories for the said rebellious Flemings to build a city (Frankenthal); after having so frequently carried havoc into France, and so continually desolated Lorraine, sometimes in person, and sometimes by despatching his troops thither; after having put a decided affront upon the archduke Ferdinand, by impeding the cardinal his son on the road to Cologne, with threats and even with violence; after being the declared enemy of the house of Bavaria, and acted in person against the elector of Cologne,—is yet permitted to remain securely in an open territory, and in the midst of those who have received so many injuries at his hands: yet he has neither fortresses nor soldiers to inspire him with confidence; neither friends nor relations who could give him aid or defend him. But he profits by the too long-suffering patience of the Catholics, who could instantly and with safety inflict such ruin upon him as he has inflicted so frequently on the states of others, if they would only resolve on it, and had the courage to do it."

SECTION V

SECOND PERIOD OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL RESTORATION

No. 63

Conclaves

I DO not fear being called to account for not having registered in this place every fugitive writing, every unimportant essay which I have met with in manuscript during the manifold researches demanded for my work. I have rather, perhaps, already done too much. Many a reader who has given me his attention thus far, might very probably be dissatisfied with an unfashioned medley of various languages. Yet it would not be advisable to give a translation only of the original documents.[1] To do this would diminish their usefulness as well as their authenticity. Thus I could not venture to insert the whole mass of my collectanea without further ceremony in this appendix.

Of the conclaves, for example, with respect to which a vast number of manuscripts may be found, I will but present a summary notice.

After every election of a pope, more particularly from the second half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, there appeared a report of the proceedings; it was, indeed, only a written one, but was, nevertheless, so arranged as to obtain a very extensive circulation, so that it frequently called forth counter-statements. Occasionally these accounts were prepared by cardinals, but more commonly by their secretaries, who were present at the conclave under the name of "conclavisti," and who made it their business to watch the course of the different intrigues with a view to the

[1] [Ranke having printed the originals, they are now accessible to students. In the present edition for English readers it has therefore been thought better to print English translations of the documents.—ED.]

interest of their masters, to whom respect for the deportment demanded by their dignity, would have made such observation no easy matter. But there were occasions when others also took up the pen. "Con quella maggior diligenza che ho potuto," says the author of the Conclave of Gregory XIII, "ho raccolto così dalli signori conclavisti come da cardinali che sono stati partecipi del negotio, tutto l'ordine e la verità di questo conclave." [I have gathered with the utmost diligence, as well from the conclavisti as from the cardinals who took part in the negotiation, the whole arrangement of that conclave, and all the truth relating to it.] We perceive that he was not himself present. The accounts that fall into our hands are sometimes diaries, sometimes letters, but sometimes, also, they are elaborate narrations. Each little work is complete in itself; the universally-known formalities are, however, here and there repeated. Their value is extremely unequal, as may be supposed. In some instances the whole sense is frittered away in incomprehensible details, while in others—but these are rare—the compiler has attained to a real perception of the ruling motives in action. From nearly all, however, the reader may derive instruction, if he has courage and does not become weary.

The great mass of writings of this kind still extant may be learned from the Marsand catalogue of the Paris library, as well as from other sources. They have also found their way into Germany. The 33rd, 35th, and other volumes of the Berlin Informationi contain copies in great abundance. In Johann Gottfried Geissler's "Programm de Bibliotheca Milichiana," iv, Görlitz, 1767, there is an account of the conclaves contained in the 32nd, 33rd, and 34th codex of the collection of that place. The most complete list with which I am acquainted is to be found in Novaes' "Introduzione alle Vite de' Sommi Pontefici," 1822, i. 272. He had access to the library of the Jesuits, in which there was preserved a tolerably complete collection of these writings.

It followed from the nature of the matter that these documents very soon reached the public in another way, at least in part. First they were incorporated into the histories of the popes. The conclave of Pius V, if not in its whole extent, yet in its commencement and at the close, was transferred

into the history of Panvinius. Cicarella has translated the conclaves of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, at least in great part; the latter with all the comments and reflections that appear in the Italian. The passage that Schröckh, "N. Kirchengesch." iii. 288, brings forward as from Cicarella, is taken word for word from the conclave. Thuanus also has given a place to these notices; but, as we soon perceive on more minute comparison, it is from Cicarella, and not from the originals, that he takes them (lib. lxxxii. p. 27). In the "Tesoro Politico" also this last "conclave" is adopted, but in a few hastily-made extracts only, and very imperfectly. And as with these, so also has it been with other conclaves.

But gradually, and first in the seventeenth century, the idea was entertained of making collections of these conclaves. The first printed collection has the title "Conclavi de' pontefici Romani quali si sono potuto trovare fin a questo giorno," 1667. It begins with Clement V, but has then a blank down to Urban VI, and a second chasm down to Nicholas V; from this time they go regularly forward down to Alexander VII. The purpose of this publication, at least the ostensible one, was to shew, by the examples to be there found, how little human wisdom can avail against the guidance of heaven. "Si tocca con mano che le negotiationi più secrete, dissimulate et accorte . . . per opra arcana del cielo svaniti sortiscono fini tanto difformi." But this was not the view taken by the world at large, who were, on the contrary, principally eager to become possessed of the curious and sometimes discreditable matter to be found therein. A French edition appeared in Lyons, and as this was soon exhausted, a reprint, revised from the original, was brought out in Holland, dated Cologne, 1694 (not, as Novaes gives it, 1594). This, enriched with further additions, has often been reprinted.

In this manner the original memoirs of the conclaves have undergone various alterations. If we compare the French collection with the originals, we find it to be the same on the whole, but in particular passages there are considerable variations. Yet, so far as I can discover, these changes proceed rather from misapprehension than from evil intention.

But there are other collections also which have never been printed. I am myself in possession of one, which supplies the omissions in the printed editions, while it has at least an equal authenticity with any one of them. But for any detailed use of these documents, an examination of the originals will certainly be always desirable.

No. 64

Vita e successi del card^l di Santaseverina. [Life and Fortunes of Cardinal Santaseverina.]

An autobiography of this influential cardinal, of whom we have frequently had occasion to speak.

It is somewhat diffuse, and often loses itself in trifles; the judgments it pronounces on individuals as well as on events are strongly marked by the personal qualities of the man; yet we find that the work communicates many peculiar and characteristic details.

There remains only, that we give here *in extenso*, some few of those to which occasional reference has been made in the text.

I. *The Protestants in Naples*

"The sect of the Lutherans still increasing in Naples, I armed myself against that thorn with the zeal of the Catholic religion, and with all my power, together with the authority of the Inquisition, by public preachings, written by me in a book called Quadragesimale; also by public and private disputations at every opportunity, as well as by prayer, I laboured to diminish that grievous pestilence, and to root it out of our bounds. For this cause I suffered most bitter persecutions at the hands of the heretics, who sought to insult me by every means, and waylaid me on all the roads, thinking to kill me; of which I have written a little book, specially entitled 'Persecutions incited against me, Giulio Antonio Santorio, servant of Jesus Christ, for the truth of the Catholic faith.' There was a shrine in a corner of our garden, with an image of the most holy Mary having the

infant Jesus in her arms, and before it there sprang up an olive sapling, which, to the admiration of every one, grew very quickly to be a great tree, being in a close place, and shaded by trees. To this little chapel it was my wont to retire for prayer and discipline, whenever I had to preach or dispute against the Lutherans, and I felt myself wonderfully invigorated and emboldened, so that I was without any fear of evil or danger, although most certainly menaced with such by those enemies of the cross; moreover I felt within me such joy and gladness that I desired to be slain for the Catholic faith. . . . Meanwhile as the rage of those heretics whom I had brought to justice increased against me ever more and more, I was constrained at the end of August or beginning of September, in 1563, to take refuge in Naples, in the service of Alfonso Caraffa, cardinal of the title of S. Giovanni e Paolo, archbishop of Naples, where I served as deputy under Luigi Campagna di Rossano, bishop of Montepeloso, who exercised the office of vicar in Naples. And after he had departed, to avoid the popular tumult excited against us by the burning of Giovanni Bernardo Gargano and Giovanni Francesco d'Aloys, called il Caserta, which took place on the 4th of March, about the twentieth hour of the day, I remained alone in the government of that church; where, after many perils encountered, many threatenings endured, stones cast, and shots fired at me, a most cruel and venomous plot was contrived for my ruin by Hortensio da Batticchio, with fra Fiano (?) di Terra d'Otranto, a sacrilegious and relapsed heretic, pretending that I, together with the Cardinal of Naples and Mons' Campagna, had required him to distil a poison of so much potency, that it should infect the air, and so destroy Pope Pius IV, because of his enmity to the family of Caraffa; and the heretic had no doubt of making the pope understand as much by means of Signor Pompeo Colonna."

II. *Gregory XIII and Sixtus V.*

"He scarcely thought that he should die, notwithstanding his great age, having always lived with exceeding moderation, and having passed through all the gradations

of the court. When he had ceased to lecture at Bologna, he came to Rome, and was made assistant curator of the Capitol, held the office of deputy to the auditor of the treasury, and was appointed referendary, but the first time he brought a cause before the segnatura he utterly failed: thereupon, overwhelmed by shame and confusion, he was determined to abandon the court, but was dissuaded from doing so by Cardinal Crescentio. When he ought by the rotation to have been made auditor, Palleotto was preferred, and placed before him by Julius III, when, being again discouraged by this double disgrace, he once more resolved to leave Rome, but was again consoled, and withheld from departure by the same Cardinal Crescentio. He was made bishop of Vieste by Paul IV, was nominated consultor of the holy office, appeared at the council of Trent, was made cardinal by Pius IV, and was despatched into Spain about the affair of Toledo. Then after the death of Pius V of sacred memory, with a wonderful unanimity, he was elected to the pontificate. Thus elevated, he lived with much charity, liberality, and modesty; he would indeed have been admirable, and even unequalled, if his worth and greatness of mind had not been mingled with that affection for his son, which in great measure obscured his most worthy actions and the Christian charity which he exercised towards both strangers and all others, so that he was truly the father of all. His death was instantly announced to the sacred college by the cardinal nephews, San Sisto and Guastavillano, when, after the performance of the obsequies, and of all other ceremonies usual on the occurrence of a vacancy in the see, the conclave was begun. And therein was Cardinal Montalto elected pope, formerly our colleague both in the affair of Toledo and in promotion to the cardinalate. This being done by the special exertions of Cardinal Alessandrino and Cardinal Rusticucci, who won over Cardinals d'Este and de' Medici to his interest, greatly to the displeasure of Cardinal Farnese; Cardinal San Sisto, on whom he had counted largely for aid against his rivals and enemies, having broken his word with him, and Cardinal Riario having acted very earnestly against him; but afterwards this last repented bitterly of this, for he did not meet with the

gratitude that he had expected; as it happened also to Cardinal Alessandrino, who, greatly rejoicing, believed he should be able to manage the pontificate after his own manner. Coming down from St. Peter's, I begged him to intercede with his holiness for Mons^r Carlo Broglia, rector of the Greek College, that he might obtain a benefice for which he had applied. He answered me very graciously, 'Do not let us trouble this poor old man, for we shall certainly be masters.' At which, smiling, I then replied secretly in his ear, 'God send that you have not cause to repent when this evening is over.' As in effect he had, for he was never cheerful of heart through all that pontificate, being constantly beset with difficulties, vexations, troubles, and sorrows. It is very true that he was himself to blame for the greater part of them, for he fell into them by neglect, inadvertence, or otherwise; besides that, he was inordinately arrogant, and continually enumerating the benefits, services, and honours he had done to his holiness. In the first conversation that I found means to procure with his holiness, I congratulated him upon his accession to the pontificate, telling him that it had been by the will of God, since at the very moment when he was elected the forty hours were ended. His holiness thereupon bewailed the malignity of the times with much humility, and with tears. I exhorted him to commence his pontificate with a general jubilee, and that he should also give his utmost care to the Holy See and to its affairs, knowing well that to it he owed the origin of his greatness."

III. *Affairs of Ferrara.*

"The duke of Ferrara having come to Rome about the investiture, of which he pretended to have had hopes given to him, there was much confusion and many discussions. Then I, having vigorously opposed the grant, both in public and private, as also in the consistory, entirely lost the favour of the pope, at the same time bringing on myself the anger of Cardinal Sfondrato, who went about Rome saying that I held false opinions respecting the pope's authority, as he had also charged on the Cardinal of Camerino, who shewed great

eagerness in the service of the Apostolic See. Finding myself offended by an accusation so far from my thoughts,—I, who had gone to the encounter of so many perils in defence of the pope's authority and the Apostolic See,—I could not but be greatly indignant; and, as it was fitting that I should do, I composed an 'Apologia pro Cardinale Sancta Severina contra Cardinalem Sfondratum,' wherein the office and duty of a cardinal are treated of. The pope, who had been greatly disturbed in consistory, and very angry in the camera, afterwards, in the palace of S. Marco, begged my forgiveness with tears and much humility; he also thanked me, repenting of the decree that he had issued to the prejudice of the bull of Pius V, 'de non alienandis feudis.' The duke having left Rome without gaining any concession whatever, from that time forth shewed himself my enemy, saying that I had been the chief cause of his not having obtained the investiture of Ferrara for the person he should thereafter name; and that I, as being his old friend, should have spoken more indulgently, and not have been so violent against the measure,—as if I had been more bound to men than to God and to the holy church."

IV. *Conclave after the Death of Innocent IX.*

"The conclave opened at the beginning of the year 1592, when the malignity of my enemies was redoubled. Cardinal Sfondrato evinced the utmost animosity against me, not only from fear of his own interests, but even still more because of the anger he felt at the words of Cardinal Acquaviva, who, fearful and jealous on account of the archbishop of Otranto, his relation, and other Neapolitan nobles, friends of mine, left no stone unturned against me. The cardinals Aragona, Colonna, Altemps, and Sforza had united together against me; they were bitter enemies to each other, but were perfectly agreed in their opposition to myself: Aragona, in spite of the continual attentions and deference that I had shewn him, but using as a pretext the abbey that I had taken from the abbot Simone Sellarolo; Colonna, notwithstanding the many services that I had rendered him

at all times, but he remembered that I had hindered the Talmud in opposition to the Jews, and he brought up again the death of Don Pompeo de Monti, with the discredit thrown on his sister; Altemps, notwithstanding the favours that I had done him, both with Pope Sixtus and the senator Pellicano, in respect to his son, the ravisher of Giulietta, for which that worthy personage fell into disgrace with Sixtus—but such were the commands of Galleotto Belardi, his master; Sforza, notwithstanding that I had favoured him in the affair of Massaino when Pope Sixtus was fulminating against him, for which he thanked me and kissed my hand in the presence of the good old Cardinal Farnese—to whom he had also proved himself ungrateful after having received from that good prelate the abbey of S. Lorenzo extra moenia; but he said he could not desert his friends, though in fact he was full of fears, knowing what his conscience had to reproach him with. The ingratitude with which Palleotto treated me is known to all. The night of the 20th of January arrived, when they made a tragedy of my affairs, even Madruzzi, formerly my dear friend and colleague in the holy office, giving a silent assent to my rivals for my downfall,[1] labouring in this way to obtain the pontificate for himself; but he had to swallow certain bitter morsels, which being unable to digest, he died miserably in consequence. I omit to mention the fraudulent proceedings of Cardinal Gesualdo, who as a Neapolitan, could not endure that I should be preferred before him, and who was even moved by envy against his own countrymen, for he had agreed with the other Neapolitan cardinals, Aragona and Acquaviva, all three having resolved to have no fellow-countryman their colleague in the cardinalate. But the act which Cardinal Colonna committed at that time was the most unworthy one ever heard of, disapproved even by his most intimate friends, and taken very ill at the court of Spain. Canano had been wont to hold me in so much reverence, that nothing could surpass it, and ever before he would always kiss my hand wherever he met me, but

[1] The Venetian ambassador Moro also remarks that Santa Severina was not chosen, "per mancamento di Gesualdo decano e Madrucci" [because Gesualdo the deacon and Madruzzi had failed him].

now, forgetful of all friendship, he thought only of obedience to his duke of Ferrara. Borromeo, assisted by me in his promotion, from regard to the memory of that holy cardinal of S. Prassede, and who had always made profession of being my dear friend; yet, allured by the gain of certain abbeys resigned to him by Altemps, now raved like a madman; he who professed nothing but purity, devotion, spirituality, and conscientiousness. Alessandrino, the contriver of all the plots, did not fail to adopt his usual course, persecuting his best friends and creatures, to the alienation of them all, and above all, he was made to feel this after the elevation of Sixtus, for he heard what he did not like in full conclave from the mouth of the cardinal of Sens, who exclaimed publicly against him. On the other hand, the fervour of my friends and supporters was not inferior. Cardinal Giustiniano having proved himself more earnest than any other, that courageous and sensitive spirit was in grievous trials all that day and night,—my cell had even been already despoiled. But the night succeeding was to me the most painful of any, however sorrowful, that I had ever passed, so that from my heavy travail of soul and bitter anguish, I sweated blood—a thing incredible to relate; yet taking refuge with much humility and devotion in the Lord, I felt myself entirely liberated from all suffering of mind and from every sense of mundane things, returning to myself and considering how fragile, how transient, and how miserable they are, and that in God alone, and in the contemplation of him, are true happiness, contentment, and joy to be found."

No. 65

Vita et Gesta Clementis VIII. Informatt. Politt. xxix.

Originally intended to be a continuation of Ciaconius, where, however, I do not find it.

A narration of the rise of the pope, and of his first measures. "Exulum turmas coercuit, quorum insolens furor non solum in continentem sed in ipsa litora et subvecta Tiberis alveo navigia hostiliter insultabat." So little

had Sixtus put them down for ever. With respect to the absolution of Henry IV, the opposition of Clement to the king is particularly insisted on, with the difficulty of obtaining the absolution from him: finally the conquest of Ferrara is described. "A me jam latius coepta scribi opportuniori tempore immortalitati nominis tui consecrabo." But neither can I find anything of this. As the work appears, it is of little consequence.

No. 66

Instruttione al S^r Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla M^tà del re di Polonia e Suetia. 1 *Aug.* 1593. *Signed, Cinthio Aldobrandini.* [Instructions to Signor Bartolommeo Powsinsky for his embassy to the king of Poland, &c.]

Ragguaglio della andata del re di Polonia in Suetia. 1594. [Report of the king of Poland's journey into Sweden, &c.]

I find nothing to add to the contents of these documents, which I have already used for the text, except perhaps the assertion in the second, that Duke Charles was in reality detested: "because he had monopolized almost all rights of purchase and merchandise, with all the mines of metals, more especially those of gold and silver."

No. 67

Relatione di Polonia. [Report from Poland.] 1598.

Drawn up by a nuncio, who complains bitterly of the unbridled love of freedom displayed by the Poles.

They desired a feeble king, not one of warlike disposition. They declared, "Che coloro che hanno spirito di gloria, gli hanno vehementi e non moderati e però non diuturni, e che la madre della diuturnità degli imperii è la moderatione." [That those who are led by the desire of glory are of vehement, and not moderate character, consequently are not for permanence; but the mother of permanence in empires is moderation.]

Nor did they desire any connection with foreigners, maintaining that it would never be difficult for them to defend their country. They could always bring 50,000 horse into the field, and, at the worst, could always recover in winter what they might have lost in the summer. They appealed to the example of their forefathers.

The nuncio bids them recall to mind that "the ancient Poles knew not what it was to sell grain in the Baltic Sea, in Danzig or Elbing, nor were they intent on cutting down forests to sow corn, nor on draining marshes for the same purpose."

The nuncio further describes the progress of Catholicism, which was at that time in the most prosperous condition. I have used the most important passages in the text.

No 68

Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Suezia, 1598. [Report of the religious and political state of the kingdom of Sweden.]

This relates to the enterprise of Sigismund against Sweden, immediately before his second journey. Its essential portions have, in like manner, been given in the text.

But there still remain some few remarks of interest in relation to earlier events.

Erik is described in direct terms as a tyrant. "Per impresa faceva un asino carco di sale a piedi d'una montagna erta e senza via per salirvi sopra, et egli era dipinto con un bastone in mano, che batteva il detto asino." [A device was made of an ass laden with salt, at the foot of a very steep mountain, with no path for crossing it, and the king was depicted with a stick in his hand, beating the said ass.] The author explains this symbol, which was indeed sufficiently intelligible. The people were to be compelled by force to do what was impossible.

John is considered as a decided Catholic. "Perche era in secreto cattolico, siccome al nuntio ha affirmato il re suo

figliuolo, usò ogni industria perche il figliuolo ritornasse mentre esso viveva in Suetia a fine di dichiararsi apertamente cattolico e ridurre il regno ab abbracciar essa fede." [He being secretly a Catholic, as the king his son affirmed to the nuncio, made every effort to procure his son's return while he was himself alive, to the end that he, declaring himself openly Catholic, might compel the kingdom to embrace the same faith.]

To these assertions I am, however, not disposed to subscribe. The worthy Sigismund probably imagined these things, that he might have the consolation of believing himself descended from a Catholic father.

On the other hand, the first enterprise of Sigismund is described in a manner bearing the full stamp of truth, and of a thorough knowledge on the part of the writer. The hopes connected with his second expedition are set forth in all the extent of their bearing on European interests in general.

INTERCALATION

Remarks on Bentivoglio's Memoirs

In his sixty-third year,—not, as the edition in the "Classici Italiani" affirms, in 1640, but in 1642, as Mazzuchelli also asserts,—Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (born 1579), having composed many other works on political subjects, began to write personal memoirs.

His original purpose was to include his first residence at the Roman court, his nunciatures in France and the Netherlands, as also the period of his cardinalate. Had he completed his purpose, the history of the seventeenth century in its earlier half would have been enriched by one valuable work the more, and that replete with thought and discernment.

But he died before he had finished even the first part. His work, "Memorie del card' Guido Bentivoglio," comes down only to the year 1600.

It conveys an impression of repose and comfort as enjoyed by the aged prelate, who, released from the weight

of business, is passing life easily in the calm quiet of his palace. It is very agreeable reading, equally amusing and instructive; but the cardinal was naturally restrained by certain considerations proper to his position from speaking so freely and fully as he evidently would have done.

The description, for example, that he has given with tolerable minuteness of the cardinals by whom he found Clement VIII surrounded, has but a very general resemblance to those given of the same persons by other writers.

The very first, Gesualdo, deacon of the college, is described by Bentivoglio as "a distinguished man of amiable manners, who does not seek to mingle in public affairs, although he does not shun them;" but of what we learn from others, and what doubtless Bentivoglio also perfectly knew, how Gesualdo impeded the election of Sanseverina from mere personal dislike; the pretensions he advanced of superior rank over the other cardinals, who endured them very reluctantly; how all his subsequent efforts were given to the acquirement of friends by whose aid he might attain to the pontificate, and how he more particularly attached himself to Spain,—of all these things we do not learn a word from Bentivoglio.

The second is Aragona. Of him Bentivoglio remarks: "He had led the cardinals in earlier conclaves, more particularly the younger: he governed Rome most admirably during the absence of the pope: he was fond of handsome furniture, had a most beautiful chapel, and was continually changing the altar-pieces." But this is no description of the man. Aragona was, as we learn from Delfino, an old man tormented by the gout, and whose death might be expected soon to happen; but he only clung the more tenaciously to his hopes of obtaining the papacy. He was by no means so much respected by the Spanish court as he desired to be; neither had he succeeded in obtaining admission to the congregation for the affairs of France, and it was known that he took this very ill. Yet he laboured to maintain the closest intimacy with the Spanish ambassador, on account of his ulterior views.

That impression of repose and serenity which we have

described this book as producing, proceeds from the fact that the lights are designedly subdued; that life is not really depicted in the truth of its phenomena.

No. 69

Relatione fatta all' ill^mo sig^re card^le d'Este al tempo della sua promotione che doveva andar in Roma. [Report made to Cardinal d'Este, when he was about to proceed to Rome on his promotion.] Vienna Library, Foscarini MSS., No. 169. 46 leaves.

In consequence of the treaty entered into with the family of Este by Clement VIII on the escheat of Ferrara, he included a prince of that house, Alessandro, in the promotion of the 3rd of March, 1599.

It was this prince who was to be prepared for his entrance into the Roman court by the instruction before us. Although it is without date, it must unquestionably be placed within the year 1599.

The purpose for which this report was written makes it at once entirely different from those of the Venetian ambassadors. It was intended to enable the prince to steer like a dexterous pilot,—"per potere come prudente nocchiero prendere meglio l'aura propitia della corte." Of political relations it contains nothing. Even the misfortune that had just overtaken the house of Este is passed over in silence. The sole purpose of the writer is to describe the peculiar characteristics of the most important persons.

The pope, his nephews, and the cardinals are depicted.

Clement VIII.—"Of blameless life, upright intentions, and a most capacious mind. It may be affirmed that he possesses within himself the whole theory and practice of politics, and the philosophy of government." We find here that Salvestro Aldobrandini had incited Paul IV to the war against Naples; that attempts had, nevertheless, been afterwards made to reconcile that house at least with the Medici. "It is said that Pius V, desiring to promote Cardinal Giovanni, brother of the present pontiff, assured the grand-duke

Cosimo that the whole of this family would ever be most faithful to him, and that he sent this same Ippolito Aldobrandini, now pope, to bear testimony to that fact to his highness, by whom he was very well received." At that time Giovanni Bardi was in the greatest favour with the pope. "Among the servants of Clement, the nearest to his person, and the most favoured, is the Signor Giovanni Bardi of the counts of Vernio, lieutenant of the guard, a man of great goodness, virtue, and nobility." The new cardinal was all the safer in connecting himself with Bardi, from the fact that he was attached to the house of Este.

The Nephews.—The pre-eminence of Pietro Aldobrandini over San Giorgio was decided. "San Giorgio, having schooled his mind to his fortunes, and mortifying his pretensions, no longer struggles or contends with Aldobrandini, but either seconds his purposes, or refrains from opposing him, and appears to be content with the segnatura of justice which he has obtained."

The cardinals were divided into two factions,—the Spanish, to which Montalto was already attached, and that of Aldobrandini. The former had at that time twenty-five decided and firm adherents, the latter fourteen only. The author correctly points out as the most probable candidate for the papacy that one of them who really did afterwards attain to it,—Alessandro de' Medici, namely. The terms on which he stood with the grand-duke of Tuscany were not known, but he was all the more in favour with Clement on that account,—"per patria e conformità di humore" [from community of country and disposition], as much, indeed, as if he had been the pope's own creature.

The historian of the Church, Baronius, is not unfavourably depicted. "Much beloved for his learning, goodness, and simplicity: he seems to be all spirit, wholly resigned to God: he makes a jest of the world, and even of his own exaltation."

No. 70

Relatione di Roma dell' ill^mo Sig^r Gioan Delfino K^r e Pro^r ritornato ambasciatore sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII (1600). [Delfino's report on returning from his embassy to Clement VIII, &c.]

This also is one of the reports that have been widely circulated; it is very circumstantial (my copy has ninety-four quarto leaves), and is very instructive.

I. Delfino begins with a description of the pope ("il nascimento, la natura e la vita del papa") and his nephews.

"Of the two cardinals (Aldobrandini and San Giorgio), I consider it in a manner necessary to speak collectively. The latter is forty-five years of age, a man of high spirit, proud, and well versed in general affairs; but I much fear that he is of a bad disposition, or that the course of events which have deprived him of those great hopes which he had reason to entertain at the commencement of the pontificate cause him to be so, for he conducts himself towards every one, not only with severity, but even with reckless harshness. San Giorgio was greatly beloved, and held in high esteem by the pope before he had attained to the pontificate, and afterwards he had the principal management of affairs for a considerable time. It was even believed by every one that he must certainly be the first nephew, because the other was younger, of no great promise, and possessing few acquirements. But, whether from his want of prudence to govern himself, as was needful he should do,—having broken with the ambassador of Spain, when he threw down his cap, and with the Tuscan ambassador, when he told him that the pope ought to drive him from the court;—from his having given offence to all, on a thousand occasions, or from the great prudence and address of the other, or from the natural force of blood,—San Giorgio has daily declined in credit and authority, so that he has no one to follow him, and never obtains any thing that he asks. It is true that he has still charge of Italian and German affairs; but the public ministers discuss the same with Aldobrandini, and in all

difficult points they have recourse to him. I had myself certain stormy interviews with this Cardinal San Giorgio at first; nay, even in the very first audience, I was compelled, by regard for the dignity of the republic, to remonstrate openly; and two or three times I have caused myself to be heard so freely, that I know my words have produced their fruit with him. And the pope took him to task, particularly on the last occasion, respecting Ferrara; but since that time there have constantly passed between us every possible demonstration of good-will, and I have always treated him with due honour. I believe certainly that he is ill-affected towards your serenity, both by nature and circumstances;—his nature, I have already described, and will therefore speak of the circumstances only. First, your serenity should know that for some time past he has thrown himself entirely into the hands of the Spaniards, and has shewn himself little disposed to favour those who are united with the French; and this evil disposition has been increased by his perceiving that Cardinal Aldobrandini has on all occasions protected the affairs of your excellencies, as if it were not possible that these two should concur in any measure, however just and reasonable it may be. All which may serve to make known the miseries endured by poor ambassadors and public representatives."

II. The second chapter—that, at least, which in our copies is formally designated as such—relates to the form of government, the finances, and the military force. Delfino is amazed, as well he might be, at certain portions of the financial administration. "While the revenues of the Church are mortgaged to their whole extent, both the ordinary and the extraordinary, and, what is worse, castles and jurisdictions are purchased from the subjects at 1½ or 2 per cent. (I understand this to mean that they yield so much), and mortgages are paid 9 or 10 per cent., it seems strange to all thinking men, that in the midst of such embarrassment these purchases should be made, and what is more, when they desire to make a certain expenditure, they do not supply the funds from the moneys in the castle, lest they should presently spend and consume the whole." We perceive that there were people even in those times, who were

startled at the hoarding of borrowed money. In respect to Ferrara, also, after the first short-lived satisfaction of the inhabitants, many discontents arose. "Nobles and people, all would willingly give themselves to any prince whatever, so they might but escape from the hands wherein they now are."

III. "Intelligenze."—These inform us of the doubtful terms in which the pope stood with the emperor and with Philip II (he awaited the death of the king with a sort of anxiety); how unfriendly were his relations with Florence, for all remembered perfectly well that the house of Aldobrandini belonged to the exiled families: "le cose passano peggio che con ogn' altro, ricordandosi d'esser andato il papa e la sua casa ramingo per il mondo." How much more cordially he proceeded, on the contrary, with France and Poland, more especially with the latter, with which he had a community of interests and purposes: "concorrendo e dall' una e dall' altra parte interessi nel presente e disegni nel tempo a venire." But for no one was Clement more interested than for the prince of Transylvania: "The pope has conducted himself with so much affection towards the prince of Transylvania, keeping an apostolic nuncio at his court, giving him, during my stay, 60,000 scudi at three different times, and inducing the emperor to perform a multitude of good offices in his favour, that he might be almost said to have become pledged and interested to the continuance of such protection. And I believe that the poor prince deserved it, because he had resolved on the war, in consequence of his reliance on the counsels and promises of his holiness, which was clearly manifest from the manner in which at the commencement, now three years since, and even a year later also, his holiness extolled the virtue and excellence of the prince to the very skies, having told me many times that he alone had supported the war against the Turks; and still more so from the cession that he recently made to him of his states, when he made a great talk about very little done; for we see clearly, that though he promised both the emperor and prince to make the latter a cardinal, yet he would have done nothing at all of the sort, wherefore I fully believe

that his holiness has been much rejoiced by seeing him return to the government of his dominions."

IV. Cardinals.—They are all discussed in turn, and more or less favourably pronounced upon.

V. "De' soggetti che cascano in maggior consideratione per lo pontificato." [Of the persons considered most likely to obtain the pontificate.]

VI. "Interessi con Venetia." [Affairs connected with Venice.]—There are already a thousand disputes in progress. "If some provision be not made against these pretensions and disorders, there will arise some day embarrassments of great difficulty, principally through these new acquisitions (relating to the navigation of the Po); so that whenever I think of this matter, the knowledge I have of the nature of priests and of the Church causes me great alarm."

This fear was but too soon justified.

No. 71

Venier: Relatione di Roma, 1601. [Venier: Report from Rome]

The dissensions between the pope and Venice had already become rather serious. The Venetians refused to send their patriarch to Rome for examination. Bitter contentions had arisen about the Gora mouth of the Po; it was in consequence of these disputes that Venier was sent to Rome.

He remained there but a short time: the description that he gives of Clement VIII is nevertheless exceedingly useful.

"With respect to the character and designs of the pope, so far as it belongs to me to consider them for the present conjuncture of the affairs that your serenity is at this time transacting with his holiness, I have to remark that the pope, at his present age of sixty-five years, is stronger and more healthy than he was some years since, having no other indisposition than that of chiragra or gout; and this,

according to the physicians, is serviceable, as keeping him free from other ailments: its attacks are, besides, much less frequent than formerly, as well as less violent, from the careful regimen he observes, and his extreme moderation in respect of drinking, with regard to which he has for a considerable time past practised remarkable abstinence. These habits are, besides, extremely useful to him in keeping down the corpulency to which his constitution disposes him, and to reduce which he makes a practice of taking very long walks, whenever he can do so without interruption to business; his great capacity enabling him easily to accomplish all, so that there still remains a portion of time at his own disposal, which he spends in giving audience to private persons and others, who are in constant waiting upon his holiness. He applies himself to all important affairs with the most earnest attention, persisting throughout, without ever shewing signs of weariness; and when he sees them happily completed, he rejoices wonderfully over the pleasure this affords him. Nor does any thing gratify him more than to see himself esteemed, and to know that his reputation, of which he is exceedingly jealous, is respected: and whereas, from his very sanguine and choleric disposition, he is very easily exasperated, bursting forth with great vehemence into exaggerations full of heat and bitterness; yet when he perceives that the listener is silent with his tongue, although his countenance becomes saddened, he recovers himself by an immediate effort, and with the utmost kindness endeavours to do away with all bitterness: and this is now so well known among the cardinals, that they give courteous warning thereof to their friends, as was given to myself at the first conference by the most illustrious cardinal of Verona, who thought he was giving me a very useful rule of conduct. The thoughts of his holiness are much turned to glory; nor can it be imagined how greatly sovereigns gain in his favour when they promote his inclination. Hence the Spaniards, in particular, who are ever on the watch to preserve and increase the great influence they possess in the court of Rome, by no means neglect the opportunity; thus they have applied themselves with the utmost promptitude to set forth that

expedition against the Turks which we have seen, while they endure and put up with no small hardships, to which they are exposed in their most important affairs in common with all others who reside in and transact affairs with the Roman court, more especially in matters of jurisdiction : by these means the Spaniards are continually advancing their interests, and frequently obtain no small advantages. The pontiff is generally considered to be a person of great virtue, goodness, and piety, of which he is pleased to see the effects become manifest in great and important results. And though the cardinals perceive that in the present pontificate the authority they were accustomed to enjoy in times past is greatly diminished, although they find themselves almost entirely excluded from all participation in the most important affairs, since it often happens that they do not receive the notice, formerly usual, of negotiations until after their final conclusion ; yet they appear to hold the pontiff in great esteem—they praise his holiness in terms of high reverence, exalting his prudence and other virtues in most expressive phrase, and affirming that if they had now to elect a pontiff, they would choose none other than this same. But their thoughts are very secret and deep, and words and appearances are turned to suit the purposes of the speakers, more frequently perhaps in Rome than in any other place."

The ambassador succeeded in once more appeasing the contentions, although the pope had already begun to talk of excommunication. He considers Clement to be, nevertheless, well disposed to the republic on the whole. Venice submitted to send her patriarch to Rome.

No. 72

Instruttione all' ill^mo et ecc^mo marchese di Viglienna, ambasciatore cattolico in Roma, 1603. [Instruction to the Marquis Viglienna, Spanish ambassador to Rome, &c.] Informatt. Politt., N°. 26.

Viglienna was the successor of Sessa. Our author very judiciously leaves it to the departing ambassador to give

information respecting the pope and his immediate dependents. He has himself supplied us with notices of the cardinals. His object is to point out the faction to which each prelate belongs. We perceive from his account that the state of things had greatly altered since 1599. There are now but ten cardinals enumerated as decidedly Spanish. In earlier times there was but little said of those inclined to France; but our ambassador counts nine of them—the remainder belong to no party.

This writer also is deeply impressed with the importance of the Curia. "Qui le differenze, le pretensioni, le paci, le guerre si maneggiano. . . . Le conditioni invitano i più vivaci e cupidi di grandezza, di maniera che non è meraviglia che qui fioriscano i più acuti ingegni." [Here it is that differences and pretensions are disposed of, that peace and wars are arranged. . . . The character of the place invites the most active spirits, and those most covetous of greatness, so that it is no wonder to find the most acute minds flourishing there.]

No. 73

Dialogo di Mons^r Malaspina sopra lo stato spirituale e politico dell' imperio e delle provincie infette d'heresie. [Dialogue of Monsignor Malaspina on the spiritual and political state of the empire, and of the provinces infested by heresy.] Vallic. N^o. 17. 142 leaves.

A dialogue between Monsignor Malaspina, the archbishop of Prague, and the bishops of Lyons and Cordova, —churchmen, that is to say, of the four principal nations,— about the year 1600. The occupation of Ferrara is mentioned in it.

The special purpose of this paper is to compare what earlier popes had done for the progress of Catholicism with what had been effected by Clement VIII.

Under the earlier popes:—"1. The reduction of the Indies; 2. The celebration of the council; 3. The holy league, and the naval victory; 4. The erection of colleges;

5. The offer from the heretics of the primacy of Peter to the patriarch of Constantinople (?); 6. The firmness of the Catholic king in refusing to make concessions to the heretics of the Low Countries in matters prejudicial to religion."

By pope Clement VIII:—"1. The pastoral and universal government; 2. The particular government of the dominions of the ecclesiastical states; 3. The life of his holiness; 4. The possibility of vanquishing the Turk now made manifest by means of his holiness; 5. Ferrara occupied; 6. The most Christian king of France made Catholic."

Malaspina concludes that this last was of more importance than all that the others had effected. Very naturally. The work is dedicated to the papal nephews.

I have not been able to discover more than one single passage worthy of notice in all this long paper.

The author was present at the electoral diet of Ratisbon, in the year 1575. He there conversed with the Elector Augustus of Saxony. This prince was still far from exciting hopes among the Catholics of his conversion to their faith. He declared, on the contrary, that he made but small account of the pope, either as pope or as sovereign of Rome, and thought just as little of his treasurer, for that the papal treasure chamber was rather a cistern than a living spring. The only thing he considered worthy of attention was the fact that a monk like Pius V could unite so many powerful princes for a Turkish war: he might effect as much against the Protestants. In fact, Gregory XIII did propose such an attempt. Since he perceived that France declined taking any part in the Turkish war from fear of the Huguenots, he considered that a general confederacy of Catholic princes, directed equally against Turks and Protestants, was a thing needful. Negotiations were immediately opened in Styria for that purpose, both with the emperor and the Archduke Charles.

No. 74

Relatione delle chiese di Sassonia. Felicibus auspiciis ill^mi comitis Frid. Borromei. 1603. [Report on the churches of Saxony.] Ambrosiana Library, H. 179.

This is another of the various projects of Catholicism, with a view to recovering possession of Germany.

The author has persuaded himself that people in Germany have gradually become wearied of Protestantism. The fathers are already but little concerned for the bringing up of their children in their own religion. "Li lasciano in abandono, perche Dio gl'inspiri, come essi dicono, a qual che sia per salute dell' anime loro." [They leave them to themselves, to the end, as they say, that God may inspire them with that which shall be for the welfare of their souls.]

In this conviction he forms designs on two leading Protestant states, Saxony and the Palatinate.

In Saxony the administrator had already annihilated Calvinism. He must be won over by the hope of recovering the electorate. "Mettergli inanzi speranza di poter per la via della conversione farsi assoluto patrone dell' elettorato." The nobles of the country would also gladly see the probability of again acquiring the bishoprics.

With respect to the Palatinate, he expresses himself as follows:—"Casimir had a sister, a widow, who had been wife to a landgrave of Hesse, and was living at Braubach, a domain on the Rhine. She appears to possess many moral virtues, and some degree of religious light: she is wont to practise many works of charity with much zeal, bestowing many alms, and consoling the sick of those districts, whom she provides with medicine. She converses willingly with certain fathers of the Jesuit order, and with the archbishop of Trier. . . . It is the opinion of many that with greater diligence, and by means of some Jesuit father in her favour, or of some Catholic prince or bishop, it would be an easy thing to bring her entirely over to the true faith; . . . for which, if the blessed God would grant his grace, and the

thing were done with befitting secrecy, she would be an excellent instrument for afterwards converting her nephew with his sister and another daughter left by Casimir."

The author is here alluding to Anna Elizabeth of the Palatinate, wife of Philip II of Hesse Rheinfels, who died in the year 1583. She had previously been suspected of Calvinism, and had even been wounded in a tumult on that account. We see that at a later period, while residing on her jointure estate of Braubach, which she was embellishing, she was suspected of a tendency to the opposite creed of Catholicism.

This was the combination of circumstances on which our author builds. He thinks that if the young count palatine were then to be married to a Bavarian princess, the whole territory would become Catholic. And what an advantage it would be to gain over an electorate!

No. 75

Instruttione a V. S^rla^ Mons^r^ Barberino, arcivescovo di Nazaret, destinato nuntio ordinario di N. Sig^re^ al re christianissimo in Francia, 1603. [Instruction to Monsignor Barberini, archbishop of Nazareth, on being sent papal nuncio to France, &c.] MS. Rome.

Prepared by Cardinal P. Aldobrandini, who makes frequent mention of his own former embassy to the French court. Its object is the furtherance of Catholicism in France, where it had already received a powerful impulse from the conversion of Henry IV.

Let us listen to some of the charges given to the nuncio (who was afterwards Pope Urban VIII). "Your excellency will proceed in such a manner with the king, that he shall not only give evidence of his desire for the conversion of heretics, but shall aid and favour them after their conversion. The idea of balancing matters so that both the parties shall be maintained in amity, is a vain, false, and erroneous proposition; it can be suggested only by politicians, evil-minded persons, and such as love not the supreme authority of the

king in the kingdom. . . . Our lord the pope would have you place before him (the king) for his consideration a most easy method (for getting rid of the Protestants), one that will cause no commotion, can be very easily executed, and produces its effect without constant labour. It is that which his holiness has on other occasions suggested to his majesty, adducing the example of the king of Poland; namely, that he should confer no appointment or promotion on heretics. . . . Your excellency will also remind his majesty that he should occasionally give a shrewd rap to those fellows (the Huguenots), for they are an insolent and rebellious crew. . . . Your excellency must plainly tell the king that he ought to discontinue the 'economati' (custody of vacant sees), and avoid the practice of giving bishoprics and abbacies to soldiers and women."

The right of the "regale," which afterwards occasioned so many disputes, had its origin in these "economati:" "The king nominates the economo, who, by virtue of a decree, and before the apostolic decision has been made, administers both spiritual and temporal affairs, confers benefices, and constitutes vicars, who judge, absolve, and dispense."

The nuncio was also to labour for the confirmation of the king himself in the Catholic faith, for it was not possible that he could have received sufficient instruction during the war. He was enjoined to urge the appointment of good bishops and to promote the reform of the clergy; if possible, he was also to see that the decrees of the Council of Trent were published: the king had promised the cardinal on his departure, that this should be done within two months, yet several years had now passed, and it was still delayed. He was further to advise the destruction of Geneva: "di tor via il nido che hanno gli eretici in Ginevra, come quella che è asilo di quanti apostati fuggono d'Italia."

But it is Italy that the pope has most at heart. He declares it to be intolerable that a Huguenot commander should be sent to Castel Delfino, on the southern side of the Alps. His example would be deadly.

Clement was very earnestly occupied with the idea of a Turkish war. Each of the sovereigns ought to attack the

Turks from a different point. The king of Spain was already prepared, and only required an assurance that the king of France would not raise a war against him meanwhile in other quarters.

No. 76

Pauli V pontificis maxima vita compendiose scripta. [Epitome of the life of Pope Paul V.] Barberini Library.

A panegyric of no great value.

The judicial administration of this pontiff and that of his government generally, as well as his architectural undertakings, are all extolled at length.

"Tacitus plerumque et in se receptus; ubique locorum et temporum vel in mensa editabatur, scribebat, plurima transigebat.

"Nullus dabatur facinorosis receptui locus. Ex aulis primariis Romae, ex aedium nobilissimarum non dicam atriis sed penetralibus nocentes ad supplicium armato satellitio educebantur.

"Cum principatus initio rerum singularum, praecipue pecuniarum difficultate premeretur, cum jugiter annis XVI. tantum auri tot largitionibus, substructionibus, ex integro aedificationibus, praesidiis exterorumque subsidiis insumpserit, rem frumentariam tanta impensa expediverit, . . . nihil de arcis Aeliae thesauro ad publicum tutamen congesto detraxerit, subjectas provincias sublevaverit: tot immensis tamen operibus non modo aes alienum denuo non contraxit, sed vetus imminuit; non modo ad inopiam non est redactus, sed praeter publicum undequaque locupletatum privato aerario novies centena millia nummum aureorum congessit."

This panegyrist does not appear to have considered the creation of so many new "luoghi di monte" as a loan.

No. 77

Relatione dello stato infelice della Germania, cum propositione delli rimedii opportuni, mandata dal nuntio Ferrero, vescovo di Vercelli, alla S^tà di N. Si^re papa Paolo V. [Report on the unhappy state of Germany, with a proposal of the fitting remedies, presented by the nuncio Ferrero, bishop of Vercelli, to Pope Paul V.] Barberini Library.

This is probably one of the first circumstantial reports that came into the hands of Paul V. The nuncio alludes to the insurrection of the imperial troops against their general, Basta, in May, 1605, as an event that had just occurred.

The unfortunate course taken by the war under these circumstances, the progress of the Turks, and that of the rebels who were in open strife with the emperor, were without doubt his chief reasons for calling Germany unhappy.

For, on the other hand, he did not fail to perceive the many conquests which the Catholic church was making in Germany.

"The immediate cause of these successes have been the pupils, both of Rome and various cities or other places of Germany, where the piety of Gregory XIII afforded them opportunity of instruction at the cost of the apostolic treasury, together with the colleges and schools of the Jesuit fathers, wherein heretics are received mingled with the Catholics; because the aforesaid students become prelates or canons."

He declares repeatedly that the Jesuit schools had won over large masses of young men to Catholicism; but he complains of an extraordinary dearth of Catholic parish priests, more particularly in Bohemia.

He enters also into the political state of the country. He considers the danger from the Turks to be rendered very menacing and serious by the feeble and ill-prepared condition of the emperor, and the internal dissensions of the house of Austria.

"The Archdukes Matthias and Maximilian are now united in friendship, perceiving that by their divisions they

were playing the game desired by the emperor. Thus the second archduke has resolved to yield to the first, as to him in whom, by the claims of primogeniture, is vested the right to the kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia, and the states of Austria. Albert also has promised to acquiesce in whatever shall be done, and by common consent they have required the emperor by letters to adopt some resolution for the stability of the house; but he has fallen into so melancholy a state, whether because of their union, and vexation at not being able to avail himself of those seditions, or for some other cause, that he provides neither for the imperial house, for his states, nor for himself."

Many other remarkable circumstances are also brought to light,—the fact, for example, that designs upon Silesia were entertained by the house of Brandenburg even at that time. "Il Brandeburgh non dispera con gli stati che ha in Slesia e le sue proprie forze in tempo di revolutione tirar a se quella provincia."

No. 78

Relatione dell' ill^mo S^r Franc. Molino cav^r e pro^r ritornato da Roma con l'ill^mi sig^ri Giovanni Mocenigo cav^r, Piero Duodo cav^r e Francesco Contarini cav^r, mandati a Roma a congratularsi con papa Paolo V della sua assontione al ponteficato: letta in senato 25 *Genn.* 1605 (1606). [Report by Francesco Molino of his joint embassy with Giovanni Mocenigo, &c., to congratulate Pope Paul V on his accession.]

The outbreak of troubles was already foreseen; the ambassadors observed Pope Paul V as minutely as possible.

"When Leo XI was declared pope, they delayed the pontifical investment for two hours; but this pope was believed to be clothed pontifically almost before he was elected, and while yet but equal to the other cardinals; for he had scarcely been declared before he began to manifest the pontifical reserve and gravity so conspicuously, in looks, movements, words, and deeds, that all were filled with

amazement and wonder, many perhaps repenting, but too late, and to no purpose. For this pontiff,—wholly different from his predecessors, who, in the hurry and warmth of those first moments, all consented to the requests as well of the cardinals as others, and granted a vast number of favours,—this pope, I say, remained from the first most reserved and serious—nay, declared himself resolved not to grant or promise the most trifling request, affirming that it was needful and proper that he should take due consideration with regard to every request presented to him. Thus there were but very few who received any favours, and those after the lapse of some days. Nor does he at all enlarge his liberality; on the contrary, his reserve seems always increasing, so that the court is apprehensive of a continued scarcity of favours, and closer restriction on all points, whereat all are very sorrowful. Among the cardinals there is not one that can boast of having had so much familiarity or intimacy with him as to make sure of readily obtaining any thing at his hands: and they all hold him in so much dread, that when they have to wait upon him for the negotiation of affairs, they are quite bewildered and disconcerted; for not only do they always find him standing on his dignity, and giving his replies in few words, but he further encounters them with resolutions almost always founded on the most rigid letter of the law. He will make no allowance for customs, which he calls abuses, nor for the practice of preceding pontiffs, to which not only he declares himself incapable of reconciling his conscience, but he further says, those popes may have done wrong, and have now perhaps to render an account to God, or else they may have been deceived, or that the cases have been different from those then before him: thus he dismisses the cardinals, for the most part, very ill satisfied. He is not pleased that any should speak long in dissent or argument, and if he does listen to one or two replies, when he has met them by decisions of law, by the canons, or by decrees of councils, which he cites in refutation of their opinions, he turns away if they proceed further, or commences some other subject; for he would have them to know, that after his labours for thirty-five years in the study of the laws, and in their continual practice, while exercising various offices in

the Roman court and elsewhere, he may reasonably pretend (though he does not say this in express words) to so exact an acquaintance with the subject, as never to take any false step, whether in the decisions that he propounds or the determinations that he makes. He alleges also, that in matters of doubt, the judgment and interpretation, more particularly in ecclesiastical matters, belong to him as supreme pontiff. Things being thus, the cardinals, who for some time past have not been wont to contradict, as they formerly did, or even to offer counsels but when they are requested and commanded to speak freely, take care to do so in conformity with the opinion they perceive to be entertained by the ruling pontiff, even though they do not think with him, restraining themselves with this pope much more than even with his predecessors; and they will every day have more and more cause to keep silence, for their opinion is now asked less than by any others: Paul neither desires to hear it from the body collectedly, nor from any one of them apart, as Pope Clement and other pontiffs used to do. He makes all resolutions for himself, and announces them at once in the consistory, where he will now complain of the evil of the times, and now inveigh against different princes with bitter words, as he did but lately while we were there, in reference to the surrender of Gran, complaining of it, and laying the blame on the emperor and other sovereigns, with very pointed and biting expressions; or anon reminding the cardinals of their duties and obligations, will suddenly bring out protests against them, without precedent, order, or rule, by which he throws them into the utmost confusion, as he did, for example, when he signified to them the necessity for their residence, and, as I have said, not by way of command, as was usual with other pontiffs, who assigned the prelates a specific time, though a short one, to repair to their churches, but solely by declaring that he would not absolve the absentees from mortal sin while they received the revenues, which determination he founded on the canons and the council of Trent. By this form of words, and a decision so unexpected, pronounced with so much heat, he caused such dismay among the cardinal-bishops, that, knowing they could stay no longer in Rome, without heavy

scruples and great remorse of conscience—without causing scandal, and above all, incurring the particular opinion of the pope that they cared little for the warnings of his holiness, had little fear of God, and small regard for their own honour in the eyes of the world, they have taken the resolution either to depart to their sees (and some have even already set off), or to resign them, though some few, indeed, have requested a dispensation to remain until the rigour of the winter has passed, and then to go in the spring. Nor has he admitted their holding legations in the provinces or cities of the States of the Church as an excuse or means of defence. There are only two who are to be excepted from the necessity of residence: first, Cardinal Tarasio, archbishop of Siena, who is very old, and quite deaf, and even he will not be excused from renouncing his revenues; and the cardinal of Verona, who is also exempted on account of his very great age, as well as because he has for many years had his nephew in the office of coadjutor; and this last has supplied the place of his uncle extremely well."

But in spite of this severity on the part of Paul V, the ambassadors made very good progress with him upon the whole. He dismissed them in the most friendly manner, nor could he have expressed himself more favourably. They were therefore astonished that affairs should so soon afterwards have taken a turn so entirely different, and at the same time so formidable.

No. 79

Instruttione a mons^re^ il vescovo di Rimini (C' Gessi) destinato nuntio alla republica di Venetia dalla Santità di N. S. P. Paolo V. 1607. 4 *Giugno.* [Instruction to the bishop of Rimini, nuncio from Pope Paul V to the Republic of Venice.] Albani Library.

Prepared immediately after the termination of the disputes, but still not in a very pacific temper.

The pope complains that the Venetians had sought to conceal the act of absolution. In a declaration to their

clergy there appeared an intimation that the pope had revoked the censures, because he acknowledged the purity of their intentions ("che S. Beat^ne per haver conosciuta la sincerità degli animi e delle operationi loro havesse levate le censure"). Paul V nevertheless goes so far as to entertain a hope that the "Consultores" even Fra Paolo—would be given up to the Inquisition. This passage is very remarkable. "Delle persone di Fra Paolo Servita e Gio. Marsilio e degli altri seduttori che passano sotto nome di theologi s'è discorso con V^ra Sig^ria in voce: la quale doveria non aver difficoltà in ottener che fossero consignati al sant' officio, non che abbandonati dalla republica e privati dello stipendio che s'è loro constituito con tanto scandalo." [With respect to the persons of Fra Paolo, a Servite, and Giovanni Marsilio, with others of those seducers who pass under the name of theologians, your excellency has received oral communication, and you ought not to have any difficulty in obtaining that these men should be consigned to the holy Inquisition, to say nothing of being at once abandoned by the republic, and deprived of that stipend which has been conferred on them to the great scandal of all.] It was impossible that such suggestions should fail to exasperate the enmity of Fra Paolo, and to make it implacable. The pope knew not the character of the enemy he was thus making for the papacy. His *Monsignori* and *Illustrissimi* are all forgotten, while the spirit of Fra Paolo still lives, at least, in one part of the opposition existing within the limits of the Catholic church, even to the present day.

The resistance which the pope had encountered in Venice made the most profound impression on his mind. "His holiness desires that the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction should be manfully defended by your excellency; but your excellency will be also very cautious to adopt no cause for which you have not very good reason, *since there is perhaps less evil in not contending than in being defeated*" (perche forse è minor mala il non contendere che il perdere).

No. 80

Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona l'anno del S^r^ 1608, nella quale in luogo dell' ecc^mo^ e rev^mo^ Mons^r^ Antonio Gaetano, arcivescovo di Capua, nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M^tà^ Cesarea, fu residente il padre Filippo Milensio maestro Agostino vic^rio^ generale sopra le provincie aquilonarie. All' ecc^mo^ e rev^mo^ sig^re^ e principe il sig^r^ card^l^ Francesco Barberini. [Account of the imperial diet held at Ratisbon in 1608, whereat Father Filippo Milensio, vicar-general of the Augustinians, &c., filled the place of Gaetano, archbishop of Capua, and apostolic nuncio; who was detained at Prague by the emperor. Presented to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.]

When the Emperor Rudolf summoned a diet in 1607, Antonio Gaetano was nuncio at his court.

Gaetano was instructed to effect the more complete introduction of the Tridentine decrees, and the acceptance of the Gregorian calendar, to which the three secular electors were already disposed,—Saxony most decidedly so; he had already instructed his ambassador to that effect—and to attend more particularly to the Catholic interests in the Kammergericht. The interruption experienced by the affairs of that court is accounted for in the Instruction, as follows:—

"The Magdeburg heretic intruder, being supreme president of this tribunal, and desiring to exercise the duties of his office, was not admitted; thus from that time no causes have been heard, and the suits have accumulated, more especially the offences offered to the Catholics, the heretics insisting that they ought to have equal place in that tribunal with the Catholics, and continually labouring to usurp the ecclesiastical possessions."

It was easily to be foreseen that very animated discussions must arise in the diet with relation to this matter, yet the nuncio himself could not be present. The emperor sent the Archduke Ferdinand thither as his representative, and

would have considered it as an affront had the nuncio left him.

Gaetano sent the vicar of the Augustinians, Fra Milensio, in his place. As the latter had passed some years in Germany, he could not fail to be in some degree acquainted with the position of things. But in addition to this, he was referred by the nuncio to Matthew Welser,—"per esatta cognitione delle cose dell' imperio," [for minute information respecting affairs of the empire,]—and to that bishop of Ratisbon, a letter from whom was at that time producing so great an excitement among the Protestants. He was also to attach himself to the counsels of Father Willer, the emperor's confessor.

It was not, unfortunately, till many years afterwards that this Augustinian drew up the report of his exertions in the diet. The account he gives of his own proceedings is nevertheless highly remarkable; and we have already inserted it in the body of our work.

He attributes the whole of the disorders that had at that time broken out in the empire to the disputed succession: "The report prevailing that Rudolf intended to adopt the Archduke Leopold, younger brother of Ferdinand, and that afterwards he had inclined to Ferdinand himself." Matthias was exceedingly displeased at this. But he found in Klesel and in Prince Lichtenstein, who had so much power in Moravia, very faithful and influential adherents.

According to this report of the Augustinian, Dietrichstein and Gaetano had an important share in the conclusion of the agreement between the brothers.

No. 81

Relatione di Roma dell' illustrissimo S^r^ Giovan Mocenigo Kav^r^ Amb^r^ a quella corte l'anno 1612. [Report from Rome by Giovanni Mocenigo, ambassador to Rome.] Inff. Politt. vol. xv.

The first ambassador after the settlement of the dissensions was Francesco Contarini, 1607–1609. Mocenigo

speaks highly of the advantage he had derived from Contarini's prudent management. He himself, who had already been employed in embassies during eighteen years, remained in Rome from 1609 to 1611. The quiet tone of his report suffices to shew that he also succeeded in maintaining a good understanding.

In the report before us, Mocenigo did not propose to repeat generalities or matters well known, but rather to exhibit the personal qualities of the pope and his disposition towards the Venetian republic. "La qualità, volontà, dispositione del papa e della republica verso questa republica. Tratterò il tutto con ogni brevità, tralasciando le cose più tosto curiose che necessarie."

1. Pope Paul V.—"Sombre (maestoso), tall, and of few words: yet it is currently reported in Rome that there is no one can equal him in point of politeness and good offices: he is truthful, guileless, and of most exemplary habits."

2. Cardinal Borghese. "Of a fine presence, courteous, and benevolent, he entertains great reverence for the pope, and renders all who approach him content, at least by good words. He is esteemed and respected by every one." In the year 1611 he had already secured an income of 150,000 scudi.

3. Spiritual power.—He remarks that former popes had sought to acquire honour by granting favours; but that those of his times laboured rather to retract the favours already granted ("rigorosamente studiano d'annullare et abbassare le già ottenute gratie"). Yet sovereigns earnestly endeavoured to remain on good terms with them, because it was believed that the obedience of the people was founded on religion.

4. Temporal power.—He finds that the population of the States of the Church is still very prone to war: "prontissimi alle fattioni, alli disagi, alle battaglie, all' assalto et a qualunque attione militare." The papal forces were, nevertheless, in utter ruin. There had formerly been 650 light cavalry kept against the bandits; but when these were put down, they had sent this body of cavalry to the Hungarian war, without raising any other in its place.

5. Form of government, absolute.—The cardinal-nephew,

the datary, and Lanfranco had some influence; otherwise the cardinals were only consulted when the pope desired to hear their opinions; and even when his holiness did consult them, they replied rather according to his wishes than their own views. "Se pure dimanda consiglio, non è alcuno che ardisca proferir altra parola che d'applauso e di laude, sicche tutto viene terminato dalla prudenza del papa." And this was in fact the best thing to be done, because the factions of the court had turned all opinion into mere party spirit.

6. Relation to Spain and France.—The pope endeavoured to maintain a neutral position. "When any one dependent on the Spaniards commenced a discussion as to the validity or invalidity of the queen's marriage, he has evinced a determination to defend the motives and cause of the queen. The few good Frenchmen in the kingdom of France itself have not failed to prove that they were ready to take arms, provided they had received any favour from the pope or the king of Spain.

"The king of Spain is more respected by the court of Rome than any other sovereign. Cardinals and princes rejoice when they can have pensions from him, and be placed among his dependents. The pope was formerly pensioned by him; and as a favoured subject of his majesty, was aided in his elevation to the papacy by singular and unparalleled benefits. He takes care to satisfy the duke of Lerma, to the end that this latter may serve as the principal instrument of his purposes with his Catholic majesty."

7. His council: "Temporising and frequently dissembling with the pontiffs.—When victors, they use their victory after their own fashion; when vanquished they accede to any condition imposed on them."

No. 82

Relatione della nunziatura de' Suizzeri. [Report from the Swiss nunciature, &c.] Informationi Politt. vol. ix. fol. 1–137.

Informatione mandata dal S^r C^l d'Aquino a Mons^r Feliciano Silva vescovo di Foligno per il paese di Suizzeri e Grisoni.

[Information from the cardinal of Aquino to the bishop of Foligno in relation to Switzerland and the Grisons, &c.] Ibid. fol. 145–212.

In Lebret's Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten-und Kirchengeschichte, vol. vii. p. 445, will be found extracts from the letters sent by the Roman court to the nuncios in Switzerland in the years 1609 and 1614. They cannot be called very interesting, standing alone as they do, without replies or reports that might illustrate their meaning: they are not even intelligible.

The first of these nuncios was the bishop of Venafro, the same whose report in relation to Switzerland has been cited by Haller (Bibliothek der Schweizergeschichte, vol. v. No. 783). "The papal nuncio," he remarks, "Lad. Gr. of Aquino, bishop of Venafro, has given proof of his discernment and ability in this work, which well deserves to be printed." Haller made a copy from it in Paris with his own hand, and this he deposited in the library of Zurich.

The report he has eulogized is that now before us; but we have it in a more complete form than that in which it was known to Haller.

When the bishop of Venafro resigned the nunciature, which he had administered from 1608 to 1612, he not only communicated to his successor, the bishop of Foligno, the Instruction that he had received from Cardinal Borghese, but presented him also with a circumstantial account of the mode in which he had acted upon that Instruction and had himself proceeded in his office. "Di quanto si è eseguito sino al giorno d'hoggi nelli negotii in essa raccommandatimi." This is the second of the manuscripts now before us. It begins with a description of the internal dissensions of Switzerland.

"And following the same order as that observed in the above-named Instruction, I proceed to say, that for many years past there has been a great change going on in the Catholic cantons, more particularly in the good understanding and concord that formerly existed between them: for nowadays, not only are they divided by the Spanish and

French factions, and by the pensions, but also by other interests, emoluments, and rivalries, so that there is now so little friendship among them that many grave evils may result from this state of things unless there be presently applied some special remedy. A particular diet is required for this, and should be held, to the sole end that it might renew the ancient leagues of friendship, brotherhood, and affection,—a thing which I have often proposed with great applause, although I have never yet been able to bring it to an effectual end. Altorf is the ancient rival of Lucerne, and carries with it the other two cantons of Schwyz and Unterwalden, beholding very unwillingly the pre-eminence and first place taken by the nobles of Lucerne; for which reason it frequently opposes them in public affairs for no better reason than mere rivalry and want of understanding. Lucerne leads with it Freiburg, Solothurn, and even Zug, thus making another party. Zug is divided within itself, there being very serious disputes between the townspeople and the peasantry: these last, also, desiring to be known as masters. Thus in every Catholic canton there are many dissensions, both public and private, to the prejudice of the deliberations, and at the hazard of much greater evils, if there be not some remedy applied, which I am labouring to do with the utmost diligence."

At the same time that he sends this information, the nuncio promises a still more circumstantial account. "Fra pochi giorni spero di mandarle copia d'una piena e più diffusa relatione di tutti li negotii della nuntiatura."

This is the first-named manuscript, and that known to Haller.

In this document the nuncio proceeds somewhat methodically to work. Chapter I.—"Della grandezza della nuntiatura." He first describes the extent of the nunciature, which he declares to be as large as the kingdom of Naples, and including, moreover, inhabitants using the most varied tongues. Among these he does not forget to mention the Romansch language,—"Una favella stravagantissima, composta di otto o dieci idiomi." [A most preposterous speech, made up of eight or ten dialects.]

II. "Degli ambasciatori de' principi che residono

appresso Suizzeri e de' loro fini." [Of the ambassadors of princes residing among the Swiss, and of their views.]

III. "Delle diete e del modo, tempo e luogo dove si congregano fra Suizzeri." [Of the diet, and of the time and place of the Swiss convocations.]

IV. "Delli passi che sono nella nuntiatura de' Suizzeri." [Of the passes that are in the Swiss nuntiature.] For the passes were precisely the principal object of contention between the various powers.

V. "Stato spirituale della nuntiatura de' Suizzeri." [Of the spiritual state of the Swiss nunciature.] The most important, and, as was requisite, the most circumstantial chapter, pp. 28–104: and in this an account is given of various dioceses, and also a report concerning the abbeys.

VI. "Officio del nuntio per ajutare lo stato spirituale e de' modi più fruttuosi di farlo." [Office of the nuncio established to aid the spiritual power, and of the best and most effectual modes for doing so.]

VII. "Che debbia fare il nuntio per dare sodisfattione in cose temporali nella nuntiatura." [Of what the nuncio should do to give satisfaction in regard to the temporal affairs of his nunciature.]

The care with which all the more important points were discriminated and gone through will be at once perceived. The execution proves the writer's knowledge, no less of past times than those present: it shews zeal, ability, and discernment. The report, as might be expected, repeats the greater part of what was contained in the Instruction.

Yet our nuncio did not think even this sufficient. He adds to the report a "Compendio di quanto ha fatto monsr di Venafro in esecutione dell' instruttione datali nel partire di Roma" [Summary of what the bishop of Venafro has done in execution of the directions given him on leaving Rome], which he had prepared on another occasion, and which must have been almost identical with the Information. He remarks this himself, yet he appends the little document nevertheless. In the copies afterwards taken, it was, without doubt, and very properly, omitted.

Instead of this paper there follows an "Appendice de'

Grisoni e de' Vallesani," no less remarkable than the preceding.

"E questo," the writer at length concludes his voluminous work, "è il breve summario promesso da me del stato della nuntiatura Suizzera con le parti che a quella soggiaciono. Deo gratias. Amen." [And this is the short summary promised by me of the state of the Swiss nunciature, and of the districts depending on it. Thanks be to God. Amen.]

He still thought that he had given only a brief outline of such things as were best worth noting; so little is it possible to represent the world in words.

I have used the Notices here found only so far as they were subservient to my own purpose (see vol. ii. pp. 195, *et seq.*); the publication of the remainder must be left to the industry of the Swiss.[1]

No. 83

Instruttione data a mons^r Diotallevi, vescovo di S. Andelo, destinato dalla S^tà di N^ro Sig^re papa Paolo V nuntio al re di Polonia 1614. [Instruction to the bishop of S. Andelo, nuncio from Pope Paul V to the king of Poland.]

A general recommendation to promote the Catholic religion, the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the appointment of tried Catholics to public employments, and never to endure any thing that can result to the advantage of the Protestants.

There are traces, nevertheless, of a certain misunderstanding.

The pope had refused to nominate the bishop of Reggio cardinal, as the king had requested. The nuncio is directed to take measures for pacifying the king on that subject.

He is particularly enjoined never to promise money.

[1] A translation of this report has in fact appeared since this was written. See Schreiber, Taschenbuch für Geschichte und Alterthümer in Süddeutschland, 1840, p. 280; 1841, p. 289; 1844, p. 29.

"For either because they do not perceive, or do not understand, the excessive embarrassments of the Apostolic See, foreign princes, more especially those north of the Alps, are very ready to seek assistance, and if the least hope were given them, they would then consider themselves greatly offended if they should afterwards be deprived of such hope."

Respecting the latter years of Paul V, we find but few ecclesiastical documents; we will therefore employ the space thus left by examining some others which refer to the administration of the state during that period.

No. 84

Informatione di Bologna di 1595. Ambrosiana Library, Milan. F.D. 181.

The position and constitution of Bologna, with the sort of independence it maintained, were so remarkable and important, that papers and documents relating to this city, though only a provincial one, were readily included in the collections.

In the 22nd volume of the "Informationi," we find a great mass of letters of the year 1580, addressed to Monsignor Cesi, legate of Bologna, and relating to his administration.

They are almost all recommendations, chiefly intercessions.

The grand duke and grand duchess of Tuscany intercede for Count Ercole Bentivoglio, whose crops had been sequestered. After a short time the grand duchess expresses her acknowledgments for the compliance granted to her request. The duke of Ferrara recommends an actress of the name of Victoria; Cardinal San Sisto, certain turbulent students of the university: "We too," he remarks, "have been scholars." Giacomo Buoncompagno, son of the pope, begs favour for a professor who had been deprived of his office; the cardinal of Como, who had at that

time the chief management of affairs, for certain monks who had been disturbed in their privileges, but he does not use the tone of one who may command. There are, besides, petitions of a different character. A father, whose son had been murdered, entreats most urgently—nay, imploringly—that justice shall be done upon the murderer, who was already imprisoned in Bologna.

It was principally as regarded the administration of justice that the influence of the governor was available. In all other matters, the city was exceedingly independent.

"The senators," says our Report, "confer with the superior on all important affairs; and having all the customs and revenues of the city in their hands, excepting the duty on salt and wine, which belongs to the pope, they dispose of the public moneys, controlled by an audit, which is made in the presence of the superior, and by a mandate, bearing his sign manual, with that of the gonfaloniere: it is signed also by the special officers appointed for each branch of revenue. They have the regulation of the taxes and imposts laid on the peasantry, whether real or personal, the tax on oxen and the capitation-tax; they have the care of the imposts paid by the rural districts, of the walls, gates, and enclosures; they see that the number of soldiers is kept up in each district, take care that no encroachments are made on the public rights, and that the beauty of the city is preserved; they regulate the proceedings of the silk-market; they elect every month for the civil tribunal ('ruota civile') four foreign doctors, who must be doctors of at least ten years' standing, and these take cognizance of and decide all civil causes."

The question next arising is, to what extent the representatives of the government retained their influence in this state of things. It was manifestly, as we have said, principally in judicial affairs. "An auditor-general is joined with the 'ruota' in the hearing of causes, and there is another special auditor for such causes as the auditor-general summons before his own tribunal; moreover there is a judge of criminal cases called 'auditore del torrione' of such place as he resides in; which last official has two sub-auditors

as assistants, and all these functionaries are paid by the public."

There next follow certain statistical accounts. "The extent of country is about 180 miles: it sows about 120,000 bushels of corn, and gathers one year with another from 550,000 to 660,000 bushels. It has 130,000 inhabitants (the city 70,000,—before the famine it contained more than 90,000), hearths 16,000; consumption 200,000 bushels of corn (the bushel containing 160 lbs.); 60,000 measures (costolate) of wine; 18,000 bushels of salt; 1,700,000 lbs. of oil: there are killed 8,000 oxen, 10,000 calves, 13,000 pigs, 8,000 sheep, 6,000 lambs; and 400,000 lbs. of candles are burnt. . . . It is computed that one year with another there die in the city 3,000 persons, and 4,000 are born: there are 500 marriages, and from 60 to 70 take conventual vows; there are born to the poor 300 illegitimate male children in the year. There are 400 coaches and other carriages: 600,000 lbs. of silk cocoons are annually brought to the city, of which 100,000 lbs. are yearly wrought for the use of the city."

No. 85

Instruttione per un legato di Bologna. (Vallic.)

Of a somewhat later period. We remark the following counsels.

"Invigilare sopra gli avvocati cavillosi et in particolare quelli che pigliano a proteggere a torto i villani contro li cittadini e gentilhuomini, . . . accarezzare in apparenza tutti li magistrati, non conculcare i nobili." [To keep special watch over the cavilling lawyers, and more particularly over such of them as take upon them wrongfully to protect the people of the rural districts against the citizens and gentlemen, . . . to make a pretence of caressing all magistrates, and not to be too hard upon the nobles.] The crying evil of the outlaws had risen to such a point, that some of them were to be found even among the matriculated students.

Other papers take us into the Roman Campagna; they shew us how the unfortunate peasant was harassed, what the barons received, and how the land was cultivated.

No. 86

Dichiaratione di tutto quello che pagano i vassalli de baroni Romani al papa e aggravj che pagano ad essi baroni. [Declaration of all that the vassals of the Roman barons pay to the popes, and of the imposts they pay to the barons themselves.]

"1. The different payments made by the vassals of the Roman barons to the pope.—They pay the salt-tax; they pay a quattrino on every pound of meat; they pay the tax imposed by Sixtus V for the support of the galleys; they pay the triennial subsidies; they pay for the dead horses, that is for the quartering of cavalry; they pay a certain tax called soldiers' money; they pay an impost called the 'archivio;' they pay another called the tax of St. Felix; they pay the pint-tax, imposed by Sixtus V; and they also pay a certain impost called the 'sale forastico.'

"2. Payments that are made by those same vassals to the barons.—They pay further to the barons, where there are mills, so much corn, and this is a heavy sum. They pay a fixed portion of wine, and the same of oil, where it is made; they pay for sending the swine into the chestnut and oak woods after the produce is gathered in, and this they call 'ruspare;' they pay a tax on taverns; they pay on chandlers' or provision shops; they pay bakers'-tax, and the tax on glass-makers; those who go to glean when the grain is cut also pay; they pay for their cattle going to pasture; they pay a fixed portion of their corn and oats. All these burdens amount, as may be seen by the revenues of Duke Altemps, to 2,803 scudi, which includes the mulctures taken from the vassals at the mill when their corn is ground. This sum is drawn from the vassals of Montecapuri (?), of the duchy of Altemps, who count from 180 to 190 hearths; and this is given as an example from which a moderately

accurate idea may be formed of the manner in which the vassals belonging to Roman barons of the Papal States are burdened: and let it be observed, that herein is not included what is paid to the treasury."

No. 87

Nota della entrata di molti signori e duchi Romani. [Note of the revenues of many Roman nobles and dukes.]

This document, like the preceding, belongs, without doubt, to the times of Clement VIII, who is simply called the pope.

The Colonna family are distinguished by having vassals; other families possessed more allodial property. The revenues of the Contestabile Colonna are computed at 25,000 scudi, those of Martio Colonna of Zagarolo at 23,000.

We have seen how the public system of debt was imitated by the barons. The Sermoneta family, about the year 1600, had an income of 27,000 scudi, but they had 300,000 scudi of debt. The duke of Castel Gandolfo had 14,600 scudi, revenue, with a debt of 360,000 scudi. The house of Montalto surpassed all others; its debts were to the amount of 600,000 scudi. The collective revenues of the Roman barons were estimated at 271,747 scudi, and their domains were valued at nine millions of gold.

The author considers these estates to be by no means neglected.

"These lands, contrary to the common opinion and to what I myself believed, are managed with the utmost care and diligence, being ploughed four, six, or even seven times, and cleared from weeds twice or thrice,—one of these weedings being in the winter. The weeds are taken up by hand, the land is cropped in rotations of four years, grain is sown in the fallows two years out of the four: where none is sown, the cattle are put in. The ears of corn are cut high, so that much straw remains: this is afterwards burnt, which makes the ground productive. The ploughs used for these lands do

not generally go very deep, because the greater part of them have no great depth of soil, and they very soon reach the subsoil. The country is all cultivated by day-labourers; reaped, sown, and weeded: all the labour it requires, in short, is done by strangers, and the people who work in the said Campagna are supported by the profits arising from their breed of horses. The country, good and bad lands taken together, and counting one year with another, may be said to yield six for one; but it must be observed that in many instances these nobles do not themselves cultivate the lands around their castles, but let them to their vassals for such terms as shall be agreed on; and this may suffice to say of the Campagna of Rome. The average rent of this land is of 50 giuli the rubbio: thus, to render it fertile, the land will cost 100 scudi and 10 giuli the rubbio."

There were computed to be at that time 79,504 rubbii in the Campagna, the collective product of which was 318,016 scudi yearly, four scudi the rubbio. Of this there belonged to the barons something more than 21,000; to religious institutions nearly 23,000; above 4,000 to foreigners; and 31,000 to the rest of the Roman people. At a later period this proportion was altered, because the Roman citizens sold so much of their part.

But let us proceed to more general relations.

No. 88

Per sollevare la camera apostolica. Discorso di mons^r Malvasia. 1606. [Method of relieving the Apostolic treasury, by Mons. Malvasia.]

In spite of the heavy imposts, it was observed with alarm that the papal government possessed nothing. "The interest," exclaims our author, "consumes nearly the whole revenue." The meeting of the current expenses is a matter of continual difficulty, and if any extraordinary demand arises, the government knows not which way to turn. The imposition of new taxes would not be possible, and new retrenchments are not even advisable. "Magnum vectigal

parsimonia";—nothing remains but to reduce the rate of interest, and at the same time to take money from the castle. Instead of the numerous monti, with their varying rates of interest, there should be but one, a "monte papale" at four, or at the highest, five per cent. All the rest ought to be bought in, and the government would be fully justified in redeeming them at the nominal value of the "luogo," the right having usually been reserved to itself by the Apostolic See. Former popes, as, for example, Paul IV, had been obliged to sell at 50 per cent.; Clement VIII himself had received only $96\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The author next proceeds to shew how far this method is practicable.

"It will then be seen that, taking into account the extreme abundance of money now in the market of Rome, with the addition made to it by the million drawn from the castle, and considering the difficulty and danger of sending money and gold abroad, because of the aforesaid prohibition (which he had proposed), it will be seen that the greater part of those whose monti and offices are extinguished will gladly enter this 'monte papale;' and those who shall prefer to have their money in cash may be paid from the aforesaid million, and from the price of the 'monte papale' which will be in course of sale. It may also be taken into account, that of the 'monti non vacabili' a great part are tied down and conditioned to reinvestment, for the security of reserved dowries, of 'luoghi pii' and other claims: these will necessarily be transferred to the 'monte papale,' and the holders will be in no haste to receive the money, for which they must have to seek another investment, as the fulfilment and satisfaction of the conditions and obligations to which they are subjected; so that thus also this affair will be greatly promoted and facilitated.

"The camera may further take to itself all the monti of corporate bodies as well as of individuals, and reduce them as above, enjoying the overplus until they shall be extinguished by the said corporate bodies or individuals.

"All those who shall be willing to change their other monti and offices for the said 'monte papale,' should have their patents made out for the first time without any expense whatever.

"In this manner your holiness may, in a short time, relieve and liberate the See and the apostolic treasury from these heavy debts and burdens; for, from the gains that will result from the aforesaid extinction and reduction of privileges and interests, which, according to the calculation given to your holiness by your commissioner of the treasury, amounts, the interest being reduced to five per cent., to at least 431,805 scudi per annum, there may be annually extinguished 331,805 scudi of debt, besides the 100,000 scudi which shall be assigned to replace the million borrowed from the castle to make up the amount of the third million that is wanting."

It will suffice here to remark the earnest attention that now began to be given to the securing of an orderly system of finance. It will not be necessary to produce the calculations. The Roman court did not adopt any proposal of this kind, but continued to follow the more easy and convenient methods.

No. 89

Nota di danari, officii e mobili donati da papa Paolo V a suoi parenti e concessioni fatteli. [Note of the moneys, offices, and valuables bestowed by Pope Paul V on his relations, and of the grants conferred upon them.]

The pope had been advised to call in the offices and monti bearing interest. We have here,—1. "Nota officiorum concessorum excell^mo^ domino M. Antonio Burghesio tempore pontificatus felicis recordationis Pauli V." There are in the whole 120 offices, the value of which is computed according to the ordinary market price. 2. "Nota di molte donationi di monti fatte alli sig^ri^ Francesco Gioan Battista e M. A. Borghese de Paolo V, con le giustificationi in margine di qualsivoglia partito." Extracts are given from the official books, that is to say, in which these parts are entered. Under similar lists we find an account of the sums bestowed on them in hard cash, as well as other valuables, and also of the privileges and immunities conferred on them. The

vouchers are appended in the following manner: "Nel libro della thesoreria secreta d'Alessandro Ruspoli, fol. 17, e da doi brevi, uno sotto la data delli 26 Genn. 1608, et l'altro delli 11 Marzo, registrati nel libro primo signaturarum Pauli V negli atti di Felice de Totis, fol. 116 et fol. 131.—A dì 23 Dec. 1605 sc. 36 m. d'oro delle stampe donati al sig^r GB Borghese per pagar il palazzo, et il restante impiegarli nella fabrica di quello, quali scudi 36 m. d'oro delle stampe provenivano del prezzo del chiamato di mons^r Centurioni, ridotti a 24 moneta a ragione di Giulii 13 per scudo, sono 46,800 sc."

I have already shewn to what extraordinary sums these donations amounted, and what was the influence exercised by the advancement of the papal families on the capital and the provinces.

No. 90

Relatione dello stato ecclesiastico dove si contengono molti particolari degni di consideratione. 1611. [Report on the Papal States, wherein are contained many particulars worthy of consideration.] Inform. Politt. xi. ff. 1–27.

We are told in the very beginning that the author was asked for this report in the morning, and that now in the evening of the same day he was sending it in.

It would be truly wonderful if he could have found means to dictate so circumstantial a report, which is, moreover, by no means ill arranged, and presents much that is remarkable, in a few hours. We here find, for example, the admission that in many parts of Italy the number of inhabitants was declining, either by pestilence and famine, the murders committed by banditti, or the overwhelming burden of the taxes, which rendered it impossible any longer to marry at the proper age and to rear a family of children. The very life-blood of the people was wrung from them by the taxes, while their spirits were paralyzed and crushed by the endless restrictions on trade.

At one point the anonymous author betrays himself. He remarks that he had written a book, "Ragione di Stato." He says somewhere, "Ho diffusamente trattato nella Ragione di Stato."

By this we obtain a clue to the writer. In the year 1589 there appeared at Venice a book thus entitled,—"Della ragion di stato libri X con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città." It is dedicated to that Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, archbishop of Salzburg, who was the first of the German princes to introduce a more rigid administration of government, modelled on that of Italy. Its author is the well-known Giovanni Botero, whose "Relationi universali" enjoyed in their day an almost universal circulation.

It is manifest that these "Relationi" must now be examined to see if they do not also include the one before us.

In what is properly to be called the main work, that wherein the Papal States are mentioned in a summary manner, it is not to be found; but there is a smaller book which is frequently appended to the former: "Relationi del sig^r Giov. Botero Benese, . . . di Spagna, dello stato della chiesa, del Piamonte, della contea di Nizza, dell' isola Taprobana," of which the dedication is dated 1611. Here, then, we find our report word for word.

The opening alone is different. The "Relation" bears the title: "Discorso intorno allo stato della chiesa preso dalla parte dell' ufficio del cardinale che non è stampata." It belonged, as we perceive, to a work on the duties of cardinals.

I leave it to the decision of the reader, whether the most credulous would be misled by the above-named opening.

No. 91

Tarqu. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima. 17 *Ott.* 1612. [Pitaro on maritime trade.] Vallic.

Among other counsels, Botero recommends the encouragement of the trade of the States of the Church.

There was, in fact, at that time a plan for excavating a new harbour for the city of Fano. It was expected that the commerce of the towns of Urbino would be attracted to the new port.

But our author opposes this plan with the most convincing reasons. He thinks that the projectors might read their own fate in the example of Ancona, which he declares, as did the Venetians shortly after, to have fallen into extreme decay. "The foreign merchants have left the city; the native traders are bankrupt; the gentry are impoverished, the artisans ruined, and the populace almost dispersed." To build a harbour with borrowed money was more likely to ruin Fano altogether than to promote its welfare,—as had happened to Ascoli, which had raised a considerable loan to bring its Maremma into a state of cultivation, but had by no means succeeded in doing so.

It was, in fact, not advisable, for other causes, to make this attempt, since the towns of Urbino must in every case very soon lapse to Rome.

No. 92

Relatione della Romagna. (Altieri Library.)

About the year 1615: 1612 is expressly mentioned, but it is of great importance for the whole period from the pontificate of Julius III. The parties that divided the province are described. The transfer of estates, as consequent more particularly on the advancement of the papal families, is very clearly explained. I have frequently used this work, but will give place here to a remark in relation to San Marino, which in those early times gradually raised itself to freedom by progressive exemptions.

"The republic of San Marino is presumed to be free, except in so far as it is under the protection of the duke of Urbino. In 1612 it was proposed and carried in the council, that on the failure of the house of delle Rovere, the republic should declare itself under the protection of the Apostolic See; from which San Marino thereby obtained

certain privileges, and particularly that of drawing corn and provisions from the Roman states. This territory, with two other domains annexed to it, comprises about 700 hearths. It is situated among mountains, is a fortified town, and the gates are guarded by soldiers of its own. The inhabitants have the free administration of justice and grace. They elect their principal magistrates for the time being among themselves, and these are called conservators, and receive from the people of San Marino the title of most illustrious. In case of any serious offence, it is their habit to procure foreign officials for the conduct of the proceedings, having recourse in particular to the ministers of his highness the duke of Urbino, on whom they confer such authority as they deem fitting. The state is poor, not having so much as 500 scudi of revenue; but some of the inhabitants are in easy circumstances, and others rich, the small extent of the country considered. They are wont to hire banditti of all kinds, but as scandals sometimes arise from this, they have decreed that banditti shall not be hired except on certain conditions; yet it is not easy to procure safe-conduct from them."

No. 93

Parole universali dello governo ecclesiastico, per far una greggia et un pastore. Secreto al papa solo. [Universal words of ecclesiastical government for making one flock and one shepherd. For the pope only.] Informatt. xxiv. 26 leaves.

In spite of the condition of the country, which was gradually becoming so manifestly worse, there were yet people who entertained the boldest designs.

But more extraordinary or more extravagant proposals were perhaps never brought forward than those made by Thomas Campanella in the little work before us.

For there cannot be a doubt that this unlucky philosopher, who fell under the suspicion of intending to wrest Calabria from the Spanish monarchy, and to have taken

part in the extravagant plans of the duke of Ossuna, was the veritable author of this work. "Questo è il compendio," he says, "del libro intitolato il Governo Ecclesiastico, il quale restò in mano di Don Lelio Orsino, et io autore tengo copia in Stilo patria mia." [This is a summary of the book entitled the "Ecclesiastical Government," which remained in the hands of Don Lelio Orsino; and I, the author, have a copy of it in Stilo, my native place.]

To this, he adds, "Haec et longe plura explicantur in Monarchia Messiae." Campanella was from Stilo: this Monarchia Messiae was his work. We cannot doubt that he either composed or revised that now before us.

We may leave the date undetermined. He was probably possessed through his whole life by notions of this kind.,

He remarks that the pope had very warlike subjects. "The people of Romagna and the March are naturally inclined to arms: thus they serve the Venetians, French, Tuscans, and Spaniards, because the pope is not a warrior." But he advises the pope also to become warlike. There was still the material for Ciceros, Brutuses, and Catos. Nature was not wanting; art only was deficient.

He thinks that the pope ought to raise two armies; the one of St. Peter for the sea, the other of St. Paul for the land, somewhat after the manner of the Janissaries. Never had an armed religion been vanquished, especially when it was well preached.

For he does not in anywise leave that out of his reckoning. He recommends that the most able men should be selected from all the orders, who should be freed from their monastic duties, and permitted to devote themselves to the sciences.

Law, medicine, and the liberal arts should be studied in the monasteries, as well as theology. The people should be preached to of the golden age, when there should be one shepherd and one fold—of the blessedness of liberated Jerusalem, and of patriarchal innocence. The longings of the people after these things should be awakened.

But when would so happy a state of things commence? "Then," he replies, "when all temporal sovereignties shall

be put an end to, and the vicar of Christ shall rule over the whole earth." "Sarà nel mondo una greggia et un pastore, e si vedrà il secol d'oro cantato da poeti, l'ottima republica descritta da philosophi, e lo stato dell' innocenza de' patriarchi, e la felicità di Gerusalemme liberata da mano degli eretici et infedeli. E questo fia quando saranno evacuati tutti li principati mondani e regenerà per tutto il mondo solo il vicario di Christo."

There should be set forth, as he advises, the doctrine that the pope is lord in temporal as well as spiritual things, —a priest such as Abimelech, not such as Aaron.

Such opinions were still entertained towards the close of the sixteenth century, or—for I will not attempt to determine the precise period—in the first ten years of the seventeenth century. We already know the extraordinary progress being made at that time by the Roman power. Before I return to the documents touching that period, let me be permitted to add yet a word with respect to the historians of the Jesuits, who were then at the height of their influence.

INTERCALATION

Remarks on Certain Historians of the Jesuit Order

Self-esteem and leisure gradually led the greater part of the religious orders to narrate their own histories in very circumstantial detail.

But no one of them has done this so systematically as the Jesuits. It was their full determination to give to the world a connected and comprehensive history of their exertions, prepared by their own hands.

And, in fact, the "Historia Societatis Jesu," known under the names of Orlandinus and of those who continued his book, is a work of the highest importance for the history of the order,—nay, we may even say for that of the century also.

Nicolaus Orlandinus, a native of Florence, had for some time presided over the college of Nola and the novices of

Naples, when in 1598 he was summoned by Acquaviva to Rome, and appointed historian of the order. In his style of writing, as well as in the business of life, he was exceedingly careful, accurate, and wary, but very infirm. It was with difficulty that he brought down his work to the death of Ignatius. He died in 1606.

His successor in this occupation was Franciscus Sacchinus, from the territory of Perugia, who is, upon the whole, the most distinguished of the Jesuit historians. He was the son of a peasant; his father occasionally visited him in the Collegium Romanum, where he taught rhetoric, and it is recorded to his honour that he was not ashamed of his origin. On his appointment, he devoted himself to the composition of his history, at which he laboured for eighteen years in the house of probation on the Quirinal at Rome, and very rarely quitted his residence. Yet he passed his life none the less in contemplation of the great interests of the world. The restoration of Catholicism was still making the greatest progress. What can be more inviting for the historian than to describe the first beginnings of an event, of which the development and effects are passing in their living reality beneath his eyes? Sacchinus was fully impressed with the characteristic peculiarity of his subject,—the universal conflict fought out in the enthusiasm of orthodoxy. "I describe wars," he says, "not of the nations with each other, but of the human race with the monsters and the powers of hell;—wars not merely affecting single provinces, but embracing all lands and every sea;—wars, in fine, wherein not earthly power, but the heavenly kingdom is the prize of battle." In this spirit of Jesuitical enthusiasm he has described the administration of Lainez, 1556–1564, that of Borgia to 1572, and of Everardus Mercurianus to 1580,—each in one volume containing eight books, with the first ten years of Acquaviva's government in the same number of books. These form four tolerably thick and closely-printed folio volumes; he nevertheless excuses himself for being so brief. Nor can he indeed be accused of prolixity, or of falling into tediousness. He is, as a matter of course, partial—partial in the highest degree; he passes over whatever does not please him; from the

materials before him he frequently takes only what is honourable to the society, and so forth. But notwithstanding this, there is much to be learned from his books. I have compared him here and there with his authorities,—with the Litterae Annuae, for example, so far as they are printed and were accessible; for books of this kind are very rare in these parts, and I have been compelled to apply to the libraries of Breslau and Göttingen for aid. In every instance I have found his extracts to be made with judgment and propriety,—nay, even with spirit and talent. But while occupied with this work, Sacchinus had acquired so extensive and accurate an acquaintance with the affairs of the society, that he was called to take part in them by the general Mutio Vitelleschi himself. It were to be desired for our sakes that this had not happened; for Sacchinus would then have completed the history of Acquaviva's administration, and one of the most important epochs would have been more clearly illustrated than was the case at a later period. Sacchini died in 1625. Even his last volume was brought to a close, and published by Petrus Possinus.

But as time passed, so also did enthusiasm diminish. The "Imago primi Saeculi," in the year 1640, had already declined in richness of contents, was more credulous of miracles, more common-place. It was not until 1710 that there appeared a continuation of Sacchinus by Jouvency, comprising the last fifteen years of Acquaviva's rule. Jouvency also has undeniable talent; he narrates in a perspicuous and flowing manner, though not without pretension. But the misfortune is, that he took the word "Historia" much too literally, and would not write annals as Sacchinus had done. Thus he distributed the materials that lay before him, arranging them under different heads. "Societas domesticis motibus agitata—societas externis cladibus jactata—vexata in Anglia—oppugnata—aucta, etc." It resulted from this, that he did not give due attention to that which was, without doubt, the most important point,—the renewed extension of Catholicism in Protestant countries. The method of annals was, besides, much more suitable to a subject such as this. With all his historical labours, Jouvency has produced nothing but fragments.

Neither did he obtain much applause for his work. The order even entertained the idea at one time of causing the whole period to be rewritten after the manner of Sacchinus. Julius Cordara, who continued the history from 1616 to 1625, confined himself closely to that model. But the spirit of earlier times was irrecoverably lost. The volume of Cordara is very useful, but is not to be compared in freedom or power with his earlier predecessors, or even with Jouvency. It appeared in 1750. After that time the society had to struggle too hard for its very existence to have leisure for thinking of a continuation to its history. What has happened since then would, moreover, have made a much less magnificent display.

In addition to this general history, there are, as is well known, very many provincial histories of the order. These have, for the most part, the general history as their basis; they are, indeed, often directly copied from it. We remark this most strikingly in Socher, "Historia provinciae Austriae," where Sacchinus is copied even to particular terms of expression. The "pudet referre" of the original, for example, is reproduced as "pudet sane referre" by Socher. (Sacchin. iv., vi., 78. Socher, vi., No. 33.)

But I will not suffer myself to enter on a criticism of these authors; the field is much too wide; it is, besides, certain that they are not likely to mislead in the present day, when they receive too little credit, rather than too much. I will take leave to make one observation only on the history of Ignatius Loyola himself.

If we compare Orlandinus with the other two more important historians of Ignatius Loyola, we are at once struck by the fact that he agrees much more exactly with the one, Maffei—"De vita et moribus D. Ignatii Loiolae"—than with the other, Pietro Ribadeneira. The manner of this agreement is also remarkable. Maffei's book appeared as early as 1585; that of Orlandinus was not produced until fifteen years later, and from the close resemblance between the two, Maffei might very well appear to have served as a model for the other. Maffei is, nevertheless, more elaborate and artificial in his manner throughout; Orlandinus is more natural, more simple, and has more force in description.

The enigma is solved when we discover that both drew from the same source—the notes of Polancus. Maffei does not name him; but a special treatise by Sacchinus, "Cujus sit autoritatis quod in B. Cajetani vita de B. Ignatio traditur," which is to be found in the later editions of Orlandinus, informs us that Everardus Mercurianus had laid the manuscripts of Polancus before him. From the same Polancus, Orlandinus also afterwards drew the principal part of his work; no wonder, therefore, that they agree. But we have the original memoranda in a more genuine form in Orlandinus than in Maffei: the first is more diligent, more circumstantial, and better authenticated by documentary evidence; the latter seeks his renown in historical ornaments and correct Latinity.

But whence proceed the variations of Ribadeneira? He drew principally from a different manuscript authority—the memoranda of Ludovicus Consalvus.

Consalvus, as well as Polancus, derived his information from the oral communications of Ignatius himself; but we can perceive thus much, that Polancus gathered more of the accidental and occasional expressions of the general, while Consalvus knew how to lead him at once into a circumstantial narrative; as, for example, in relation to his first spiritual call.

From this it results that we have here to distinguish a double tradition; the one, that of Polancus, repeated by Maffei and Orlandinus; the other, that of Consalvus, repeated by Ribadeneira.

By far the most remarkable is that of Consalvus: he has given, so far as can be supposed possible, an account really derived from Ignatius himself.

But in this, as in all other traditions, we very soon become aware of an amplification of the simple material. This was commenced even by Ribadeneira. He takes the narration of the eight days' ecstasy, for example, which Ignatius had in Manresa, and from which he was awakened by the word "Jesus," out of the relations of the lady Isabella Rosel of Barcelona. "Examen Ribadeneirae in comment. praev. AA. SS. Julii, t. vii. p. 590."

But his readers were far from being satisfied with him.

Of many of the miracles already commonly believed, he took no notice. "Nescio," says Sacchinus, "quae mens incidit Ribadeneirae, ut multa ejus generis miracula praeteriret." It was on account of these very omissions that Polancus commenced his collection, and that Mercurianus caused his work to be elaborated by Maffei, whence they were transferred to Orlandinus.

But even these narrations did not suffice to the wonder-craving Jesuitism of the seventeenth century. As early as the year 1606, people had gone so far as to affirm the sanctity of a cave in Manresa, which was said to be the place wherein the Exercitia Spiritualia were composed, although neither the first nor even the second of these traditions mentions a word of this cave, and the Dominicans maintained, doubtless with perfect truth, that the spelunca of Ignatius was in their monastery.

The most violent dissensions between the Dominicans and Jesuits were just then in force, a motive sufficient to make the Jesuits seek another scene for the foundation of their order.

We now return to our manuscripts respecting Gregory XV and Urban VIII.

No. 94

Relatione delli ecc^mi S^ri Hieron. Giustinian K^r Proc^r, Ant. Grimani K^r, Franc. Contarini Proc^r, Hieron. Soranzo K^r, amb^ri estraord. al sommo pontefice Gregorio XV l'anno 1621, *il mese di Maggio.* [Report of Signors Hieron. Giustinian, Ant. Grimani, Francesco Contarini, and Hieron. Soranzo, ambassadors extraordinary to pope Gregory XV, in May, 1621.]

Of little importance, as are all reports of this kind.

The description of the new pope and of his government could not be more than a hasty sketch, after so short a residence; a few remarks on the journey, the conclave, the origin and previous life of the newly-chosen pontiff, with

the first proceedings of his administration, generally form the whole material of the report.

Something more might, nevertheless, have been expected on this occasion, because the ordinary ambassador, Geronimo Soranzo, who had resided five years at the court of Rome, made one of the four ambassadors, and prepared the report in concert with the other three.

The interests of the Venetian senate were, however, not identical with our own; they were political, not historical. The personal character and court arrangements of a departed prince no longer awakened curiosity, and had no essential importance. Soranzo contents himself with a few remarks. "Non debbo tralasciare di narrare qualche cosa della più gravi che mi sono occorse di maneggiare in sì lunga et importante legatione."

The point of chief moment is, that Soranzo explains the position which Venice had assumed towards the papal court, in the affairs that had shortly before been in discussion with Spain.

"The Spaniards submitted to the consideration of his holiness the favourable opportunity now presenting itself for reviving the claims of the Church in the gulf (of Venice). The ambassador laboured to shew the just, ancient, and indubitable possession of the gulf; adding that the republic would have recourse to foreign aid to defend it, and would avail itself of the English and Dutch—nay, even of the Turks themselves; and that if his holiness fomented the unjust and unfair pretensions of the Spaniards, he would throw all Christendom into the utmost confusion. One day his holiness said to me, 'We consider it necessary that the affairs of the gulf should remain unaltered: the innovations that have taken place there have displeased us greatly: we have said this to every one who has spoken to us of the matter.'"

We perceive that there were once more precautions required, lest another outbreak of open hostility should ensue.

Soranzo laboured only to convince Paul V that the republic was not disposed to the Protestants. "Lo resi al pieno capace della bontà e del puro zelo della republica."

The ambassadors entertained the conviction that the new pope would not incline to the Spaniards. The character and manner of his election seemed to justify this expectation.

"In the election of Gregory XV, the operation of the Holy Spirit was made manifest. Borghese, who had the command of six votes more than were required to make the pope at his own pleasure, had resolved to have Campori elected; but three of his creatures dissenting, and other obstacles afterwards arising, he was induced to nominate his creature Ludovisio; but more by the instigation of others, than by his own inclination. This cardinal possessed the good-will of Aldobrandini; he was believed by the Spaniards to entertain pacific dispositions, and the French considered him to be their friend."

The papal nephew seemed also to maintain himself still unfettered. "Mostra sinora genio alieno da Spagnoli" [he has hitherto shewn himself averse to the Spaniards], say the ambassadors.

But all this too soon underwent a change.

No. 95

Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisi, di S. R. Ch. vicecanc. nepote di papa Gregorio XV, scritto da Luc. Antonio Giunti suo servitore da Urbino. [Life and measures of Ludovico Ludovisio, vice-chancellor of the holy Roman Church, nephew of Pope Gregory XV. Written by his servant, Luc. Antonio Giunti of Urbino.] Cors. 122 leaves.

"Ludovico, ch'è poi stato il card[l] Ludovisi, nacque in Bologna dal conte Oratio della famiglia di Ludovisi e dalla contessa Lavinia Albergati l'anno 1595, a 27 d'Ottobre." [Ludovico, who afterwards became Cardinal Ludovisio, was born in Bologna on the 27th October, 1595. His father was Count Oratio, of the family of Ludovisi, his mother the Countess Lavinia Albergati.] He was educated in the Jesuits' college at Rome, was admitted doctor in 1615, in

1617 he accompanied his uncle on the latter being sent as nuncio to Bologna, and in 1619 he entered on the career of the prelacy: on the day after the coronation of his uncle, 16th February, 1621, he was nominated cardinal, and thence obtained that eminent position in the world which we have already described.

"I will give," says the author, "a certain idea of such things as were partly proposed by him, and brought about by his agency, or at the least promoted by his efforts during the pontificate of his uncle Gregory."

1. Traits of character.—"He heard all that was said with a more than common coolness. The ambassadors could never have enough of transacting business with him: he gave himself to all, that all might give themselves to him. He did justice and shewed mercy at the same time, without passion or duplicity."

2. Promotions.—He appointed the cardinals who had promoted the election of his uncle to different legations: Orsini to Romagna, Pio to the March (of Ancona), Ubaldini to Bologna, and Capponi he made archbishop of Ravenna. Thus their good services were rewarded. Nuncios were despatched to all the courts: Massimi to Tuscany, Pamfili to Naples, Corsini to France, Sangro to Spain, Caraffa to the emperor, Montorio to Cologne. Aldobrandini served as general, Pino as paymaster in Germany. The greater part of the Instructions furnished to these nuncios are still extant. The following account of the manner in which these documents were prepared is thus rendered all the more interesting. "Although they were drawn up by Monsignor Agucchia, a prelate of Bologna, yet the cardinal gave particular attention to them himself, by adding notes on the chief points, and making memoranda of the motives, intentions, and opinions of his holiness, together with such counsels and remedies as were suggested by his own foresight and knowledge." We perceive, then, that the essential parts were supplied by the cardinal-nephew, while Agucchia, a fellow-townsman of Ludovisio, undertook the completion.

3. Bulls relating to the papal election.—The forms previously used were altered, secret scrutiny was introduced,

the adoration was abolished. Giunti describes the disadvantages arising from the adoration: "It made the cardinals more diffident in the expression of their opinions; it produced and fomented serious antipathies between the excluders and the excluded; it caused the pontiff to be chosen without due deliberation, when the heads of the factions had made their inclinations manifest; it occasioned the result of the elections to depend, for the most part, on the younger cardinals." It will be readily supposed that Ludovisio had other and more secret motives for this change, but these are not here brought forward.

4. The establishment of the Propaganda; the canonization of saints.—Of these we have treated in the text.

5. The transfer of the Electorate; discussion of the personal share taken by Ludovisio in that event.

6. The acquisition of the Heidelberg library: ". . . on account of which, Cardinal Ludovisio exerted himself greatly, seeing that he considered the acquirement of it among the most fortunate events of his uncle's pontificate. Doctor Leon Allaccio, Greek writer in the said Vatican library, was selected to go and receive it, and take charge of it to Rome."

7. His protection of the Capuchins, whom Ludovisio esteemed very highly, as he did, even more particularly, the Jesuits.—Vitelleschi says, that by the "special protection which God has ever extended to that society, it has come to pass that some great cardinal has always stood forward as its patron—Alessandro Farnese, Odoardo Farnese, Alessandro Orsino, and now Ludovico Ludovisio." He had richly supported the Jesuit churches in Rome and Bologna from his private fortune; and for the completion of the former, he finally bequeathed 200,000 scudi in his will. He had constantly bestowed 6,000 scudi a year towards that purpose during his lifetime. The author includes that sum in the alms he describes him to have given in charity, and which he computes to have been exactly 32,882 scudi yearly.

8. The election of Urban VIII.—This is here ascribed to the cardinal: "superando con la sua destrezza le difficoltà che si traponevano" [surmounting by his dexterity the difficulties that opposed it]. His removal from Rome

to his archiepiscopal see of Bologna was entirely determined by himself.

9. His subsequent life.—He preached occasionally in Bologna, and it was by him that the Bolognese were induced to add Ignatius and Xavier to the number of their heavenly protectors. But the principal thing related is, that he placed himself in earnest opposition to the vacillating policy of Urban VIII, in accordance with the principles by which he had himself conducted the administration. When the victories of Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 were made known to him, he offered the Spanish court 100,000 scudi, with the proceeds of all his Spanish abbeys, of which he held ten, during such time as the war should continue. Giunti gives the letter in which Ludovisio makes this offer, which he founds on the "presenti bisogni della Germania e dell' augustissima casa di S. M^tà, base e sostegno della religione cattolica" [the present necessities of Germany, and of the most august house of his majesty, the basis and support of the Catholic religion]. This offer was not accepted in Spain, but Olivarez wrote to the cardinal in reply, that although his majesty declined his proposal, he would yet not fail to shew the cardinal whatever favours he could himself desire, and which might appear to be for interested purposes, if the offer were accepted.

Of the intention attributed by a Venetian to the cardinal of calling a council against Pope Urban VIII, we do not here find any trace.

Upon the whole, indeed, this biography is written very much in the tone of an official panegyric. Although containing much useful and authentic information, and many trustworthy particulars, it refrains from all communication of a more questionable character.

The cardinal died soon after. "La cui anima," says Giunti in conclusion, "riposi in cielo."

No. 96

Instruttione a mons^r vescovo d'Aversa, nuntio destinato da N. Sig^re alla M^tà Cesarea di Ferdinando II Imperatore. Roma, 12 *Apr.* 1621. [Instructions to the bishop of Aversa, nuncio elect to the Emperor Ferdinand II.]

We have seen the important effects of Caraffa's exertions: the Instruction furnished to him by Gregory XV on his proceeding to his nunciature would therefore be worthy of our attention, were it only on that account; but it becomes still more so from the fact that it reveals the views entertained at Rome after the battle of Prague.

Gregory commences by assuming that it was the purpose of the Protestants to root out the house of Austria, to wrest the empire to themselves, and then to press forward into Italy, despoiling and plundering that noblest part of the world. But God had given events a different direction; it must now be the part of man to turn this interposition to the utmost possible advantage.

He enjoins the nuncio to direct his attention to the following points:—

I. Confirming the strength of the empire by means of the Catholics.—He promises aid to the emperor, and urges that the victory should be promptly followed up.

II. The restoration of the Catholic religion.—The pope is rejoiced at the progress it is making in Austria and Moravia. He is comforted by perceiving that in Silesia they have at least refused to tolerate the Calvinists. But he would not give his sanction to the toleration, even of the Augsburg confession in Hungary, although that confession certainly comes nearest to Catholicism: "La confessione che, quantumque rea, si dilunga assai meno dalla professione cattolica di quello che facciano le più sette cattoliche." But he is most of all anxious respecting Bohemia. For the restoration of Catholicism in that country he recommends the following measures:—

1. The foundation of a Catholic university in Prague.
2. The re-establishment of the Catholic parish priests

in the ancient parishes, and of Catholic schoolmasters in the cities.

3. The use of catechisms and good books for all, but for children and ignorant people (idioti) the ancient spiritual songs in the Bohemian tongue.

4. Catholic booksellers and printers, bookshops and printing-presses of heretics being subjected to visitation.

5. The labours of the Jesuit fathers and other religious orders.

6. The poor colleges should be restored to their efficiency, by making over to them the alienated ecclesiastical property.

All means of instruction and education. But the nuncio is further reminded that he must oppose the appointment of Protestants to public offices. "The minds of men being more effectually moved by their own interests than by other motives, they will begin by degrees, more particularly the young, to bend their spirits to the Catholic religion; if for no other cause, yet for the sake of participation in public honours."

III. The re-establishment of the ecclesiastical tribunals. —On this subject the pope has many complaints to make. The bishops are still reluctant to submit to the decrees of the council of Trent; the canons pursue various corrupt practices; the chapters make a very bad use of the patronage they exercise; even the emperor allows himself too much liberty. "L'imperatore istesso sotto varii pretesti di spogli, di juspatronati, di concessioni apostoliche, di avocarie, di incamerationi e di pienezza di potestà trattiene le chiese gli anni vacanti, et in quel mentre se ne prende per se l'entrate."

IV. Restoration of the papal authority.—The emperors appear to see with gladness that the pope dares no longer come forward with his bulls and excommunications. The papal court has, moreover, lost a very large portion of the revenues in money formerly derived from Germany, which amounted in earlier times to 200,000 scudi. Gregory will not give his approval to the proceedings with Klesel; but expresses himself with great moderation on the subject. "Non è mai piaciuto troppo quel fatto." Verospi, the auditor of the rota, was sent over to conduct the proceedings.

V. The relation of the emperor to Italy.—This might be

made useful, more especially in the affairs of the Valtelline. The consent of Spain had not yet been given to the demolition of the conquered fortresses. "It seems that the duke of Feria and other ministers of his imperial majesty are opposed to that measure, as desiring to retain those forts, and with them the glory of that conquest." But the pope clearly perceived the danger that might arise from this. The Protestants in Germany would desire nothing better than to see the sword unsheathed in Italy.

VI. The conduct and deportment of the nuncio.—He is above all things recommended in the first place to Eckenberg, as was to be expected; but it is highly remarkable that the papal nephew speaks of the Jesuits with the utmost reserve and caution only. "The nuncio will make great account of Father Beccano, the emperor's confessor, and must avail himself skilfully of his assistance,—not neglecting meanwhile to observe the language and opinions of that father, the better to discover his purposes, and to acquaint me with them; and in like manner he will have recourse to the Jesuit fathers with a wary confidence." "Con avveduta confidenza!"—an admirable piece of advice.

We are meanwhile made aware of the magnificent designs already conceived by the pope. Even at that time he contemplated the restitution of all Church property. With this remarkable passage we will conclude our extract. "In proportion as progress shall be made in the acquirement of territories previously held by heretics, your excellency will urge on his majesty with the utmost earnestness, that he should recover the ecclesiastical possessions occupied by them, and restore them to the Church and their true patrons. An application to this effect was made by order of Pope Paul V, when the marquis Spinola took possession of the Palatinate, and the emperor replied that the time was not yet come for treating of that matter."

We perceive then that the idea of the Edict of Restitution was conceived by Paul V in 1620, but was at that time rejected by the emperor as premature and inopportune.

The nuncio of Gregory XV was now to press anew for that measure, and was to represent to the emperor the merit he would acquire by it.

No. 97

Instruttione a mons^r Sangro, patriarcha d'Alessandria et arcivescovo di Benevento, per andar nunzio di S. S^tà al re cattolico. 1621. [Instruction to Monsignor Sangro, patriarch of Alexandria and archbishop of Benevento, when proceeding as nuncio to the king of Spain.] 1621.

Sangro is reminded that the power of Spain is now for the most part in the hands of Uzeda and of the grand inquisitor. He must therefore more particularly remind the latter of his spiritual duties.

In order to discover secrets, he is recommended to attach himself to the ambassadors of Venice and Tuscany; "de' quali si suol cavare molto" [from whom there is usually much to be drawn].

The questions of immunity, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of the collettoria, are afterwards discussed minutely; but I am obliged to confess that the defective and illegible copy which I found deterred me from entering more fully into these subjects.

The principal matter is still the discussion of the political relations.

The nuncio is directed above all things to demand the renewal of the war with Holland.

He was to remind the Spanish court that Prince Maurice was already old and feeble, and that his death was daily to be expected; that the division between the Arminians and Gomarists weakened the Provinces, where Count Henry was hoping to obtain the supreme power by the aid of the former, while Count Ernest founded similar hopes on the assistance of the latter; that the Zealanders were poor, and the Hollanders hated by the rest for their arrogance. "Thus the king could not turn his forces against them at a better time or more fitting opportunity."

No. 98

Instruttione a V. Sig^ria M^r di Torres, arcivescovo di Antrinopoli, nuntio destinato da N. Sig^r in Polonia. 30 *Maggio*, 1621. [Instruction to Monsignor Torres, archbishop of Antrinopoli, nuncio elect to Poland.]

The misunderstanding between Paul V and Sigismund III was not altogether without importance. "Se la pietà del re," says Gregory XV in this Instruction, "e la riverenza che a questa sede egli porta, non havesse ammorzato del tutto o almeno coperte le scintille de' dispiaceri loro, se ne sarebbe per li soffioni altrui acceso alcun fuoco di discordia manifesta." [If the piety of the king, and the reverence which he bears to this see, had not entirely quenched, or at least subdued, the sparks of their resentments, the fires of open discord would certainly have been enkindled from them by the breath of others.]

Gregory now labours to pacify all these dissensions. He is impressed by the merits of this king, who could not have been made a better Catholic even in Rome itself.

The nuncio is reminded that he must above all things be careful to let his deportment be such as to incur no blame: "because all eyes are fixed on the nuncio, and take example from him in holiness of manners, and the king himself proposes him as a model to his prelates." To give diligent attendance at the banquets of the great, would certainly not in itself be an unlikely means of obtaining influence, but in the end it would diminish the respect which it was necessary for a nuncio to receive.

It was desirable that the nuncio should visit the churches in person, as was formerly done.

But the point principally insisted on was still education. The institution of the Dottrina Christiana, as existing in Italy, was to be introduced into Poland also. Care must be taken to provide catechisms, and worldly or Protestant songs must be superseded by others of Catholic import.

No. 99

Instruttione a V. S^ria^ M^r^ Lancellotti, vescovo di Nola, destinato da N. S^re^ suo nuntio in Polonia. [Instruction to Monsignor Lancellotti, bishop of Nola, nuncio elect to Poland.]

I do not know whether belonging to 1622 or 1623, but certainly still under Gregory XV.

The Instruction furnished to Torres was communicated to the present nuncio also. At the command of the Propaganda, all bishops had, since that time, been compelled to present reports on the state of their dioceses: from these documents the nuncio was directed to procure further information.

Political relations are brought more prominently forward. The nuncio was enjoined to do his utmost for the preservation of the good understanding existing between the Poles and the house of Austria: the Turks and the rebellious subjects of the emperor would thereby be held in check.

The Poles would gladly have concluded a peace, or at least a truce for twenty years, with Gustavus Adolphus. The latter also proposed that the Polish line should succeed to his throne in the event of his dying without children, but Sigismund rejected every overture. "Benche Gustavo per conditione espressa offrisse che morendo lui senza figliuoli gli avesse a succedere S. M^tà^ e la sua stirpe, s'oppose a questi consigli." It was only from consideration for the Poles that he agreed to a short truce.

The affairs of the United Greeks had already been discussed in the Instruction given to Torres, but were clearly and thoroughly explained in this paper.

"The Greeks in the time of Clement VIII being influenced by Rupaccio Pacciorio, who was first bishop or vladica of Vladimiera, and afterwards metropolitan of Chiovia, their bishops or vladici agreed, those of Leopoli and Premisla excepted, who remained in their obstinacy, to unite themselves to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope for their head, as they did in 1595, according

to the form and profession of faith contained in the Florentine council. But so many dissensions arose out of this, and so earnestly did the Greek nobles, favoured by the heretics, oppose themselves to that union in the diet, that the kingdom had nearly been turned upside down, because very few of the clergy, and still fewer of the people, were willing to accept it, affirming that all had been done for the private designs and ambition of a few, without their participation. Thus, though the Catholic bishops and pastors do still remain, yet they stand alone, without finding flocks willing to follow them. Moreover, they run great risk of being driven from their sees, and of having those churches taken from them which were previously wrested from the schismatics and conferred upon them. There is, accordingly, great noise made about this in all the diets; and in the past year it happened that a bishop, or perhaps it might be the schismatic patriarch of Jerusalem, sent into Muscovy and Russia by the patriarch of Constantinople, fixed himself among the Russians, and created there as many schismatics as there were United Greeks, besides exciting the Cossacks, who are all schismatic Greeks, to demand in the diet, with very large offers, because the kingdom had need of them for the war with the Turks, that their ancient pretensions should be satisfied. The bishop of St. Angelo, now nuncio, nevertheless contrived to divert the blow, so that, between his exertions and the public necessities, which left no leisure for new conflicts, the matter was reduced to silence by authority of the king. There is yet continual apprehension from the United Greeks, and the most intelligent prelates prognosticate that evil will ultimately arise from them, if some precaution be not taken to prevent it. Hence there are some who think that it would have been better if this union had never been made; for they affirm that it would have been much more easy to lead the nobles separately, and family by family, into the Catholic church; and of this they adduce as proof the fact that all those who have singly abandoned the Greek rite and the schism, remain fixed in their attachment to our church."

No. 100

Relatione fatta alla congregatione de Propaganda Fide da Dionysio Lazari sopra alcune cose che possono essere di servitio alla santa fede cattolica. 1622. [Report presented to the congregation "de Propaganda Fide" by Dionysio Lazari with respect to certain things which may be useful to the holy Catholic faith.]

Dion. Lazari had been in England for some time, or, as he expresses himself, "molti mesi" [many months], and here suggests the means by which Catholicism may be restored there.

He considers that the methods to be pursued are three:—negotiation with one, or with many, or measures of violence.

He is of opinion, however, that much might be effected with King James personally, his majesty being indifferent as regarded his creed, and very timid. "Per la pratica che ho di lui, lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione." It would be well to foster his suspicions, even by means of forged or suppositious letters: "Far artificiosamente avisar qualche suo ministro fuori del regno di persona da loro creduta fedele, e nell' istesso regno far trovar qualche lettera a nome supposito che trattasse in forme segrete queste materie." [To contrive that some minister of his, out of the kingdom, should receive seeming advices from some person believed trustworthy, and to manage that some letter in a feigned name should be found in the kingdom, which might treat of these matters with forms of secrecy.] Buckingham, also, might well be gained over; his wife was the daughter of a Catholic, and was secretly a Catholic herself ("è segreta cattolica figlia anche di segreto cattolico"). Buckingham attached great importance to alliances with foreign powers; it was through these that he might be most easily won, and the rather as he was always in danger from the parliament. "Essendo composto il parlamento quasi per la maggior parte di puritani, stimarebbe egli specie d'efficace vendetta l'indurre il re al cattolicismo." [The

parliament being for the most part composed of puritans, he would esteem it an efficient vengeance to lead the king into Catholicism.]

Influence to be gained over the people. It would be very useful if they could only obtain freedom of preaching: "which might be accomplished by means of money, proposing, so to speak, a toll or tax on preachers and hearers, for the king is often led, by the gain to be made, into things contrary to his will."

He says that violent measures were not to be thought of. But we see clearly that even peaceable ones, such as he proposed, could not have been carried out.

Lazari belongs to that class of people who believe that they can influence the progress of events by means of intrigue and cunningly-contrived plans, which can, however, never be the case.

He has no hopes from the present generation, which has been wholly nurtured in the Protestant opinions. The prince alone, afterwards Charles I, appears to him to give some promise. "Io v'ho grandissima speranza, per vederlo d'indole molto ingenua, di costumi assai generosi, molto sobrio nel detestar li cattolici." [I have the greatest hopes of him, perceiving him to be of an extremely ingenuous disposition, of sufficiently generous character, and very temperate in expressing aversion to the Catholics.]

No. 101

Instruttione al dottor Leone Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. 1622. [Instruction to Doctor Leone Allatio, on going into Germany to fetch the Palatine library.] Court library at Vienna, MS. Hohenb.

The Instruction by which Leo Allatius, then scriptor to the Vatican, was empowered to take possession of the Heidelberg library.

This document is found not only in Vienna, but also in many other libraries; for example, in the Chigi library in

Rome, among the collections of Instructions by Gregory XV. The literary interest attached to the subject has also caused it to be made known. Quade, Baumgarten, and Gerdes, one after the other, have had it printed in Latin.

Having once come within the domain of Protestant literature, it was at length inevitably made the subject of discussion. In the "Geschichte der Bildung, Beraubung und Vernichtung der alten heidelbergischen Büchersammlungen" (Heidelberg, 1817), p. 235, our learned fellow-citizen and friend G. R. Fr. Wilken—so I wrote in 1836—has suggested serious doubts of its authenticity.

And the Latin translation is in fact executed in a manner that cannot fail to awaken mistrust. But fortunately this disappears when we have the original manuscript before us.

In the Latin, for example, we find the following words in relation to the medals furnished to Allatio for the soldiers of Tilly:—"Unum adhuc R. T. D. suppeditamus stratagema, ut scilicet sibi magnam nummorum comparet copiam, quos a sanctis canonisatos esse fingat." It is without doubt incredible that the Roman court should have expressed itself in this manner to one of its servants.

We find accordingly, on consulting the original, that it is in truth quite different. "E qui soggiungerò a V. S. che se le darà un grosso numero di medaglie con l'indulgenza della canonizzatione de' santi fatta da N. S." [And here I may add, that you shall be furnished with a great number of medals, with the indulgence of the canonization of saints made by his holiness.] By this I understand, medals commemorating the canonization of the saints who had been placed in the calendar by Gregory XV, with an indulgence attached.

There is just as little to be found in the original, of Allatio addressing the duke of Bavaria in German, as the Latin version will have him to have done.—"Tradito," we find it in Baumgarten, "brevi a Sancto Patre fidei ipsius concredito, Germanico idiomate eum affandi." In the original, on the contrary, we have, "Presentando a Sua Altezza il breve di N. S^re, le parlerà a nome di Sua S^tà conforme al tenore di esso." [Presenting to his highness the

brief of our lord the pope, you shall speak in the name of his holiness according to the tenor of the same.]

This is a translation which outrages the Italian, as well as all probability.

But when we examine the original, and remark how much more judiciously it was composed, and in circumstances that leave no room for doubt, we can no longer question its authenticity.

It is, nevertheless, certainly true that Allatio was commanded to circulate a rumour to the effect that the library was to be transferred to Munich, and not to Rome. "In ogni caso sarà bene di metter voce che si abbia da condurre solamente a Monaco e non a Roma." We have already seen how often the greatest caution was impressed as a duty on the papal envoys. Further instructions of similar character were given to Allatio; for example: "Massimamente per i paesi sospetti sarà sempre meglio di andare in habito corto, come persona negotiante del dominio Veneto." [It will be always advisable, more particularly in the suspected countries, that you should appear in a short coat, like one occupied in commerce from the Venetian territories.] So much dissembling and disguise was thought needful to success.

That such directions should be given in writing should scarcely excite our wonder. In that court, and more particularly in the chancery of Ludovisio, they were fond of writing. The Instructions prepared by Agucchia are not wanting in important political views, but they are also loaded with trifles of this kind. The compiler desired to have the credit of thinking of every thing.

There was, besides, much cause for apprehending the rage to be awakened among the inhabitants of Heidelberg by this loss to their metropolis, more especially among the reformed party. The library was to be escorted by a detachment of cavalry.

No. 102

Instruttione al padre Don Tobia Corona, de' chierici regolari, mandato da papa Gregorio XV al re di Francia e prima

al duca di Savoia per l'impresa della città di Ginevra. 1622. [Instruction to Father Corona, of the chierici regolari, sent by Gregory XV to the king of France, and first to the duke of Savoy, respecting the enterprise against the city of Geneva.] Library of Frankfurt-am-Main, MSS. Glauburg, vol. 39, n. 1. 26 leaves. 4to.

The commencement of this paper is as follows:—"L'Italia che dall' eterna providenza è stata eletta a reggere hora l'imperio temporale, hora lo spirituale del mondo." [Italy, which has been elected by eternal Providence to govern at one time the temporal, at another the spiritual empire of the world.]

To this spiritual domination, Geneva is above all things abhorrent; "non solo come piena di huomini appestati ma come catedra di pestilenza" [not only as being full of men infected with plague, but as itself the very seat of pestilence].

To chastise it, to destroy that city, was a task especially befitting the pope as the vicar of Christ, and the duke of Savoy, who still called himself count of Geneva. And accordingly the popes and dukes had frequently attempted that enterprise, but had constantly been impeded by the protection that France had extended to the city. Now, however, the state of things is altered. "France is occupied with the task of subduing the rebel heretics, and will be pleased to see that they are deprived of strength and reputation in other quarters, by measures similar to those she is herself adopting, and without any cost to her."

The pope had formed the plan of this attack from the very commencement of his pontificate, and thought the way might be prepared for its execution by the mission of a conventual ecclesiastic. "Since our motive is that of religion, it will be advisable that we should avoid all rumour, concealing our proceedings as much as possible; therefore we will send a monk thither. Your reverence will conduct this affair throughout as originating in the mind of his holiness, without any other inspiration than that of the Holy Spirit."

He is first to awaken in the duke of Savoy "the propensities of a warlike heart;" but if he should require help, he must represent to him how greatly the support accorded to the emperor and the League had exhausted the Apostolic See, how many claims the Poles were making, and the heavy expenses occasioned by Avignon; yet he was by all means to lead him to hope for some assistance; "che Sua S^tà non sarà stretta a S. A. di tutti quelli ajuti che dalle picciole forze uscir potranno." The envoy is also directed to request all needful information respecting the rights of Savoy to Geneva.

But the most important part of his mission was the kind of representations that he should make to the king of France. 1. That the king must beware of incurring the suspicion that he was persecuting the Protestants solely from regard to his political interests. 2. That even these interests, rightly understood, required the destruction of Geneva. "If Geneva had not afforded shelter to Calvin, his majesty would not now be compelled to bear arms against his obstinate and perverse Huguenot subjects; nor would republics be seen rising up against the monarchy. . . . There are popular republics (those of the Huguenots) that have their citizens and adherents on every hand's breadth of ground; nay, even in the court itself, and perhaps in the very chamber of the king. . . . Already the republic of the Huguenots is founded; already are its laws published; already are magistrates, counsellors, and commanders of armies appointed in every province. There remains nothing more for them to do than themselves to take up arms against the king and drive him from his throne."

How prominently the element and tendencies of monarchy were brought forward in the midst of these Catholic endeavours, is here made manifest. Geneva was to be destroyed as the chief and adviser of the Huguenot republics. It could now look for no assistance, since all other Protestant communities were fully occupied with their own affairs, and the English were bound fast by treaties.

And of what importance could this augmentation of Savoy be considered, in comparison with the might of

France? The pass could not be defended against the Swiss, since the king held possession of Bresse. "The Catholic cantons, with which the crown is most closely allied, will be gratified as well as benefited by the change. The canton of Freiburg, surrounded by Bernese heretics, although it be valiant and not afraid of them, will none the less prefer to have for its neighbours on the side of the lake, that city become Catholic, and placed under the dominion of a friendly and Catholic prince, rather than the same remaining free and heretical."

Cardinal Retz, the Constable (Luynes), and Père Arnoux, are the persons named to Corona as those from whom he may more particularly expect support.

We shall presently speak of the results of this mission.

No. 103

Relatione di Roma fatta nel Senato Veneto dall' ambasciador Rainiero Zeno alli 22 di Nov. 1623. [Report from Rome, presented to the Venetian Senate by the ambassador Rainiero Zeno.] Informat. Politt., vol. xiv., 101 leaves.

The ambassadors, returning from their missions, usually express themselves with modesty and deference, as well towards the princes from whom they return as towards their hearers. Rainiero Zeno is the first who gives evidence of a great self-complacency. He not only declares that he lays before the senate a clear view and balance of the papal revenues and expenditure, which he had compiled with the most diligent care (f. 80), but even reminds them of the lively colours with which he had portrayed first one and then another of the cardinals in his despatches (f. 111). Of Pope Urban himself, he says, without ceremony, "with two words I brought his arguments to nothing." He asserts, in express terms, that "the Divine Majesty had given him the talent of penetrating the innermost thoughts of the most reserved men;" and makes Cardinal Ludovisio utter an encomium on the Venetian republic, because she always

selected men of the most approved ability for the embassy to Rome.

Rainiero Zeno appears some years later in the Venetian troubles of 1628. Here, also, whatever proceeds from his pen has that stamp of self-approval manifest in the report before us, and which betrays itself in so many Italians and Spaniards of that century.

Among men of this character there could not fail to be many collisions; Rainiero Zeno accordingly experienced the most unpleasant incidents in the course of his embassy.

These took place for the most part in the pontificate of Gregory XV. Ludovisio desired a display of reverence and observance that Zeno would not accord him: they consequently soon fell into violent dissensions.

In the latter part of his report Zeno describes these contentions. He boasts of having frequently given sharp replies to the papal nephew—of reducing him to silence. He derived especial satisfaction from having arrived by secret means at the knowledge of things which the cardinal nephew believed to be veiled in the deepest secrecy, and respecting which he would then let him see that he was perfectly well acquainted with the whole. It rejoices him to think of the vexation this occasioned to Ludovisio. "He saw that with me he must give up his mighty conceit of being impenetrable to every one." But he will not have it supposed that much evil came of this; on the contrary, the republic was thereby advanced in reputation. When it was proposed to leave the Valtelline as a deposit in the hands of the Spaniards, there was nothing so much dreaded by Ludovisio as the noise of the Venetian protests,—"il fracasso che era per far io, il rimbombo delle mie proteste" [the uproar that I was sure to make, the resounding of my protestations].

But these times had, meanwhile, passed away. Urban VIII had ascended the papal throne, and Rainiero Zeno makes it his particular care to describe the personal character, the court, and political administration of that pontiff, so far as they had at that time developed.

He declares repeatedly that the cardinals made it their only thought to speak in such a manner as might satisfy

the pope. He considers it perfectly right that no man should think of attempting to bring the papal finances into order. There is no instrument, he says, so well fitted to throw all Christendom into confusion as the head of a pope.

He thereupon sketches a portrait of Urban VIII. "He is a prince of grave and venerable aspect, tall in stature, of an olive complexion; his features are noble, and his hair black, beginning to turn grey; more than commonly elegant in appearance, singularly graceful in his gestures and the movements of his body. He speaks admirably well, and on whatever subject you enter with him, he has arguments at will, and displays extraordinary proficiency in every matter. He has hitherto shewn a great love for poetry, which he has never ceased to cultivate, even in his most serious occupations and studies. Those who are well acquainted with this art, and with what is called humane letters, have been always well received by him, and he has courteously favoured them in all that came within his power; yet this taste does not abstract his attention from things of greater importance, and which were more essential to the due performance of his duties in such offices as have successively passed through his hands. I speak of the study of law, in which he has laboured incessantly from his earliest youth even to these last years, and that with the extraordinary closeness of application required by his charge of prefect to the segnatura of justice, a magistracy demanding severe study, extreme acuteness, and the most exact accuracy, because of the variety of the affairs brought before it. He is so well versed in the business of the world, and the interests of princes, that it might be thought he had passed his whole time in the schools of politics."

It is by no means necessary that we should extract further. The resemblance of this portrait is only in the general outline; the more delicate features of that intellectual physiognomy are not to be found here, whether because they were not developed until a later period, or that Zeno had not the power of comprehending them.

The case is precisely similar with the following descriptions of the pope's relatives and the cardinals, of whom the author gives a circumstantial account.

One thing only demands notice, that he advises the senate to expect no kind of service from the Venetian cardinals. "Priuli," he says, "languido di spirito come di corpo." [Priuli, feeble in mind as in body.] So contemptuously does he treat them! Of Venier he will not speak at all, in order that he may have no contentions with his kinsmen.

He next proceeds to the political relations. He declares himself at least content that this time a pope has been elected who is not in love with the Spaniards. Albuquerque had found the soil exceedingly stubborn, and could not get what he wanted. The relations of Urban VIII to France are described by Zeno in the following manner.

"It is not to be doubted that the pontiff has a most friendly disposition towards the kingdom of France, a thing pointed out to us as highly probable by many circumstances; for his greatness first took its rise in that court, and, although it is true that he rose by his own merits, yet he does not himself deny that he received great assistance from the attestations of Henry IV to the satisfaction produced by his mode of transacting business, and to that monarch's assurance of the pleasure it would give him to see him participate in the honours usually conferred on other residents who had held the same charge. The frank and ingenuous proceedings of the French, wholly free from the artifice and duplicity common to other nations, are in perfect accord with the disposition of his holiness; there is also a certain conformity in the modes of study to which the French apply themselves, and in which they excel, with those in which his holiness takes pleasure,—the more polite literature, that is to say, the more graceful kinds of erudition, poetry, and the study of languages, in which he also delights, and has engaged, in so far as his active duties have permitted. He esteems that kingdom as much as words can say, because he considers it as a counterpoise to the ambition of the others, which unquestionably aim at universal monarchy."

The pope took it very ill that the Venetians should connect themselves with heretics and unbelievers. He thought there could certainly have been other assistance found for them.

Zeno concludes by once more recalling to mind the toils and struggles that his office had cost him; his incessant watchings, his sleepless nights, and the bitter vexations by which his health had been impaired. "Yet am I more rejoiced," he says, "to have worn out my life in the service of my native land, than if I had lived at ease for a whole century, but remained inactive."

No. 104

Relatione degli ecc^mi signori amb^ri straordinarii Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo e Zeno, ritornati ultimamente da Roma, letta all' ecc^mo senato 25 *Febr.* 1624. (*i.e. M. V.* 1625.) [Report of the ambassadors extraordinary, Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, and Zeno, lately returned from Rome.]

When Gregory XV declared that he would no longer transact business with Rainiero Zeno, the Venetians sent Geronimo Soranzo to take his place. Yet Zeno was still in Rome, as we have just seen, when Urban VIII was elected. Both were commissioned to congratulate the new pontiff, Corner and Erizzo appearing to complete the embassy.

The report which they prepared in common is free from those effusions of self-love to which Zeno alone gave indulgence; it acquires a certain importance from the fact that the affairs of the republic had again become complicated by the matter of the Valtelline.

Pope Urban appears to have been greatly dissatisfied by the Venetians having taken part with the French in their attack on the papal garrisons. "Che i cannoni della repubblica si fossero voltati contra i luoghi tenuti in deposito della S. S^tà, che chiamò luoghi dell' istessa chiesa."

"Nè mancano," continue the ambassadors, "in Roma soggetti d'ogni grado et d'ogni qualità che proponevano a S. S^tà, come ella medesima ci disse, ad usare contra quell ecc^mo senato le censure ecclesiastiche." [Nor are there wanting in Rome men of every rank, and of all characters, who proposed to his holiness, as he told us himself, that he

should utter the ecclesiastical censures against the most excellent senate.]

They laboured to excuse themselves as well as they possibly could: they affirmed that it was the purpose of the Spaniards to possess themselves of universal monarchy: "rendersi patroni di quelli passi, per facilitarsi la monarchia di questa provincia." [To make themselves masters of those passes, and thereby facilitate their attainment of the sovereignty of that province.] They alleged that religion had been perfectly secure, and that their having formed a league with Ultramontanes was the less to be brought against them as a ground of reproach, because they had been forbidden by the popes themselves to raise troops in the States of the Church.

Urban had believed that they would make him some conciliatory proposal in relation to that affair; but they had no commission to that effect. On his side, also, he was on that account inaccessible to their requests. They were obliged to content themselves with merely perceiving that his displeasure was mitigated: "non si impetrava altro che mitigamento dell' acerbità mostrata del suo animo."

But this could not have been a very difficult matter to attain, since the aversion of Urban to the Spaniards had already made itself manifest. He declared "che non poteva parlar alto, perche troppo era circondato da' Spagnoli, e che a Madrid lo chiamavano heretico, ma che armato si havrebbe fatto rispettare" [that he dared not speak above his breath, so closely was he surrounded by Spaniards, and that at Madrid they were calling him a heretic; but that if he were armed he would make himself respected].

His subsequent opinions and conduct were already shadowed forth in these words.

It is principally with interests of this kind that our report is occupied, but it also attempts to give an intimation of affairs in general. Let us observe how it describes the chiefs of the government in the first years of Urban VIII.

"With regard to those who are now in the highest authority with the pontiff for the most essential affairs, they are restricted to two persons, namely, Cardinal Magalotti and Don Carlo Barberini, brother of his holiness. It is

true that both affect to be quite unconscious of this authority, and not to possess it: they avoid all official interviews, pretend to know nothing of the affairs in hand, do not approve of being frequently visited; and by this mode of proceeding, very unlike that adopted by the kindred of other popes, they more effectually sustain the reputation of his holiness, desiring to have it understood that all depends entirely on his commands alone.

"In events of very grave importance, his holiness was sometimes wont to summon to his councils the cardinals Bandini, Melini, Scaglia, Santa Susanna, and some others; because, knowing them to be of very severe character, he sought by this appearance to give proofs of esteem for the sacred college and for their persons: not that he was in effect much inclined towards them, or trusted greatly to their opinions. And this conceit of his holiness, which is clearly perceived by the said cardinals as well as by others, is complained of by every one, all affirming that after his determination respecting affairs is taken, he communicates with them, but not with any intention of accepting their advice. They perceive also that he becomes daily more negligent in making these communications, omitting, indeed, altogether to hold consultations with the cardinals. It is true, that though greatly induced to this by the wish to retain absolute dominion and authority in his own hands, yet he is the more confirmed in it because he knows them to be dependent on one or other of the foreign sovereigns, and attached to the interests of those princes; so that he considers this course to be most advantageous for himself.

"With respect to matters touching the republic, Monsignor Gessi and Monsignor di Montefiascone are admitted to the consultations, as having been nuncios to this city and well acquainted with its affairs. Occasionally also, Anzolo Badoer is also invited, but he lives in Rome under another name and surname, having become a priest and fixed himself there finally, residing for his greater security in a house attached to the monastery of the Frati della Scalla, in whose church he generally says mass. But, as we have said, Cardinal Magalotti and Signor Carlo Barberini are the

fixed stars of that firmament; and all negotiations, being confined to those two heads, are conducted with the closest secrecy; so that what we cannot attain to by conjecture, it is very difficult to know by any other means, unless we are directly informed by the pontiff himself.

"Don Carlo displays a similar independence of princes to that possessed by his holiness. He is fifty-eight years old, of good constitution, and strong. He is disposed to give satisfaction to the people by keeping the cities well supplied with all things. In his private affairs he is a careful economist, and is anxious to make himself rich, knowing well that the reputation of men is enhanced by wealth,—nay, that gold exalts and distinguishes its possessor advantageously in the eyes of the world: besides that, it is the generally received opinion that it is not reasonable or suitable for a man who has once been the kinsman of a pope, to remain after his death in narrow circumstances. He is a man of few words, but sensitive. He has shewn the highest reverence for the most serene republic, but we having said to him, on paying our compliments, that we wished his holiness a long reign, he replied with a certain bitterness, that if the pope were to be respected and honoured as pope,—alluding to matters then proceeding in the Valtelline,—he should desire long life for him; but that if it were to be otherwise, he should pray the Almighty to take him to himself as soon as possible.

"Cardinal Magalotti also professes to live in perfect independence. He is a sagacious and prudent man, shewing great vivacity of mind and restlessness of spirit, and it is believed that he might be gained. As the cardinal-nephew increases in age and experience, it is thought that they will scarcely go on well together, and that the pope will therefore take care to avail himself of the cardinal's services at the right moment, in some legation."

No. 105

Instruttione a M^re Sacchetti, vescovo di Gravina, nunzio destinato di N. S^re per la M^tà catt^ca. 1624. [Instruction

to Monsignor Sacchetti, bishop of Gravina, nuncio elect to the king of Spain.] Barb. fol. 26 leaves.

The directions of Sacchetti refer, first, to the domestic affairs of Spain; secondly, to those of Europe generally.

1. There were at all times manifold rivalries and disputes between Rome and Spain. The Roman court was just then, for example, extremely displeased that a cardinal such as Lerma should be deprived of his revenues and summoned before a secular tribunal. But while the pope laboured to put a stop to these proceedings, he caused Lerma to be admonished, at the same time, that he must resign all hope of worldly greatness,—that nothing further, indeed, could be done, since Olivarez was so high in favour; wherefore he would do well to make up his mind, and after having lived so long for others, at length to live to God and himself. On the other hand the nuncio was referred to Olivarez, with whom the Roman court was at that moment still on good terms. The following remarkable circumstance is brought forward on this occasion:—"It has come to pass that the jealousy of the queen, aroused by some suspicion that the king had bestowed his affections elsewhere, has led her to complain to the king of France, her brother, in such sort that the latter had taken a resolution to make it a matter of public dispute with his brother-in-law. But the predecessor of your excellency wrote about the business, and said he had found a remedy by establishing confidence between Count Olivarez and the queen, who had before been exceedingly distrustful of him."

The nuncio is also recommended to have recourse to the grand inquisitor, and is directed to stimulate that official to increased watchfulness against the introduction of heretical books into Spain and the Indies.

2. There had been conceived in Spain the idea of securing the German line in more peaceful possession of their late acquisitions by means of two new marriages. The hereditary prince palatine and Bethlem Gabor were both to be married to princesses of the imperial house. By these means it was hoped that the Hungarian troubles, and still more certainly those of Germany, might be got over. This

purpose did not at first obtain credence in Rome, but on the receipt of further intelligence, it was no longer possible to doubt. The pope hastened to make remonstrances to the king against this design. It had appeared from certain letters, that it was by no means the purpose of the English to allow the prince palatine to become Catholic, even though he did go to the imperial court. And would they venture to confide in so unstable a man as Gabor? He (the pope) could neither believe nor sanction such proposals, and charged his nuncio to oppose them with his utmost power.—"V. S^ria^, ma con destrezza et a tempo, facci per impedirli (questi due matrimonj) tutto quello che umanamente può."

We know that Pope Urban himself had a large part in defeating these, if far-sought, yet well-intentioned plans. The mission of Rota, which we have before mentioned, is explained by these expressions.

No. 106

Instruttione a V. S^ria^ arcivescovo di Damiata e chierico di camera per la nuntiatura ordinaria al re crist^mo^. 23 Genn. 1624. [Instruction to the Archbishop of Damiata, clerk of the chamber, nuncio in ordinary to the king of France.]

This Instruction is the counterpart of that given to Sacchetti.

Here also the pope condemns the above-described plan for the restitution of the Palatinate in the most violent manner. He calls on the king to use his influence to induce Saxony to abstain from impeding the progress of the Bavarian power. After that he wishes for nothing more earnestly than the destruction of Orange, which was only a gathering-place for heretics.

But the most important part of this document refers to the internal affairs. King Louis XIII is described as follows:—"The king is beyond measure virtuous, and

abhors all those vices which are wont to accompany sovereign power. He is not haughty, but most affable. He is not too much attached to his own opinion, but rather loves to receive good counsels. He is no lover of ease, but is devoted to labour, which he bears bravely; he knows no pleasure but that of the chase; he cherishes no abject or grovelling thought, but is most desirous of glory, yet without neglecting the duties of piety. His ministers of state, as also his attendants at the chase, whom he readily accosts, may enjoy a degree of liberty with his majesty which the rigid etiquette of the great rarely permits. Among those who have access to his majesty on account of the chase, his principal favourite is the sieur de Toiras, a wary and prudent man, who does not mix himself up with state affairs, that he may the better conceal his influence, but is very capable of acting in them."

Under this monarch, Catholicism was making the most brilliant progress. The nuncio is enjoined to promote all the missions to the very utmost of his power, more particularly those in the south of France: he is directed to defend their interests on all occasions at the court of the king.

But even at that time a constantly-renewed and insuperable opposition was arising from the Gallican tenets.

There was at least a portion of the members of the Sorbonne by whom the doctrine of the independence of the temporal power and the divine right of bishops was put forward and defended. Some even propounded the opinion that parish priests had a right to as much power in their parishes as the bishops in their bishoprics. These doctrines the pope considers abominable: it grieves him sorely that though Richer, who defended these opinions with especial earnestness, was excommunicated, yet he paid no regard to that circumstance, but continued to say mass as before. The parliaments were meanwhile taking active measures to limit the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The appeals "comme d'abus," the inquiries into the despatches of the dataria, the encroachments on the jurisdiction of the bishops, appeared to the pope like so many usurpations. "They favour all who appeal to them, and in this manner they seek to

subjugate such provinces as are not yet subjected to them, as, for example, Brittany, Provence, and Bourg-en-Bresse."

In the prohibition of books, also, the parliaments interfered. Gladly would the nuncios have forbidden works such as those of De Thou and Richer, but they found it impossible. The new nuncio is directed to prevent the coming out of mischievous books, rather than to wait for their appearance :—"The printing-presses are true hotbeds of all false doctrines, and it will be necessary that the nuncio should seek to make friends of the booksellers, that they may give notice from time to time of what books are in the press, seeing that when once they are printed, there is difficulty in obtaining the prohibition."

We see clearly that the entire conflict between the Curia and Gallicanism had already commenced,—that conflict which, under its various forms, kept different periods of the old Bourbon monarchy in constant commotion.

No. 107

Instruttione a V. S^ria^ mons^r^ Campeggi, vescovo di Cesena, destinato da N. Sig^re^ suo nuntio al S^mo^ Sig^r^ duca di Savoia. 1624. [Instruction to Monsignor Campeggi, bishop of Cesena, papal nuncio to the duke of Savoy.]

An Instruction that is remarkable, particularly as throwing further light on the previously-named mission of Don Tobia Corona. We perceive that the enterprise against Geneva was brought to nothing, principally by the opposition of Luynes and Rohan, who were still powerful, but also in part by the respect in which the Huguenots generally were held. We also learn, however, that the hope of it was not by any means relinquished on that account.

"From whom the first suggestion of this enterprise proceeded, whether from the pope or the duke, is not well known. It is true that the pope sent briefs and letters of exhortation to the duke himself, and to the prince of Piedmont, whence it might be conjectured that the pope was the author of it; but his highness the duke displayed

such prompt alacrity in receiving the exhortation, that it does not seem likely to go very wide of the truth if we believe him to have induced the pope to write to him. The difficulties encountered by Father Corona did not originate with the king or queen, who readily yielded to the pontifical persuasions: they arose from the constable Luynes, followed by the principal ministers, who were moved either by their own interests or by their wish to pay court to the constable, and by certain grandees of the Huguenot party. It is believed that the aversion to this enterprise displayed by Luynes was inspired by the duc de Rohan; and if we inquire the motive that could impel the latter to oppose the undertaking, we find no other than his own desire for the maintenance of the heretics, he being one of them, and the fear he felt of losing a large body of followers in France from his adherents having to go to the succour of the Genevese. The negotiation of Father Tobia resulted in this, that not only the king was not displeased by that mission, but that none—even of those who well perceived all its purport—dared openly to blame it. All that was said was, that some declared the time was not come for attempting so great an undertaking; and others said the duke ought not to have placed the king in that strait till after the thing was done, because that then his majesty would not have been able to refuse his approbation to the piety and magnanimity of the duke, while previously to the fact his majesty could not violate that faith under which the Genevese believed they were reposing in security. From that time to the present it has been believed that the duke intended to attempt a surprise; and now there is no longer any doubt of this, because his highness has declared himself to his holiness, entreating his assistance. His holiness has replied that he will grant it willingly, and in a manner similar to that adopted by Pope Gregory. But as that course would not be compatible with the secrecy demanded for a surprise, his highness has preferred to content himself with the promise of our lord the pope, that he will use his influence with the most Christian king, so that after the thing has been done, his majesty shall not be indignant thereat."

There is, moreover, mention in this document of certain

affairs more especially touching Piedmont. They shew that a path was opening to the disputes of a later period. The duke claimed the privilege of nominating to episcopal sees: the pope would acknowledge nothing but his right of recommendation; he evinces displeasure at certain burdens that were laid on the clergy.

No. 108

Ragguaglio dello stato di religione nel regno di Boemia e sue provincie incorporate. 1624. [Account of the state of religion in the kingdom of Bohemia and its incorporated provinces.]

In May, 1621, Carlo Caraffa arrived in Prague, and proceeded immediately to the work with which Gregory XV had especially charged him,—the superintendence, namely, of the restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia.

Eighteen months after this, as he himself informs us, consequently in November, 1622, he prepared a report of his labours, under the title "Relatio Bohemica," which he despatched to the newly-founded Propaganda. I had sight of the original work, which circulated among the members of the Congregation: these were cardinals Sauli, Bandini, Barberini (afterwards Urban VIII), Borgia (at a later period the violent opponent of Urban), Ubaldini, Santa Susanna, Valerio Sagrato, and Zollern, with the prelates Vives, Agucchi, and Scala. Zollern was deputed to take a copy and report from it.

This first report Caraffa enlarged fourteen months afterwards, consequently in June, 1624; and sent it, under the title given above, to Urban VIII, in order, as he says, "to kindle his paternal zeal into still greater love towards the Bohemians."

There is an elaborate printed work by Caraffa entitled, "Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata:" which is one of the most important sources for the history of the first ten years of the thirty years' war; but, in the first place, he could not there enter so fully into the details of

his Bohemian labours, to which he always looks back with complacency, as in a report especially devoted to that purpose; and there were, besides, certain other considerations required for a printed work, certain restrictions imposed by various motives. The Report, on the contrary, speaks out in full freedom, giving all the facts in detail.

It does not, indeed, comprise more than the beginning of the changes effected in Bohemia; but as respects these it is, in fact, of great importance.

I have already availed myself of these details in the narrative, but necessarily with close compression. I will here add a few particulars, from which it will be seen under what difficulties, chiefly created by the government of the country, the nuncio carried his views into effect.

1. The introduction of the Latin ritual.

"Having held a conference respecting that matter with Plateis, and considering that those few Bohemians who were Catholics frequented without any restriction the churches of our ritual, where, nevertheless, they always heard the divine offices performed in the Latin tongue, I judged that we ought not to despair of causing the same to be done by those also who should be newly converted, more especially if it were insinuated to them by the preachers that this tongue is, as it were, in a certain sort essentially most suitable for the divine offices in use through all Catholic countries, and particularly in those churches which are comprised beneath the rule of the western empire, as a sign of the superiority and predominance of the Roman church over all others. Wherefore, I gave orders to the said Plateis, that at the first possible moment he should employ his utmost diligence towards restoring the use of the aforesaid tongue in such churches as were already taken from the hands of the heretics. Accordingly, on the day of the holy apostles Simon and Jude, in the year 1621, on the occasion of the church of Saint Stephen, the principal parish of the new town, being provided by the archbishop with a Catholic incumbent, which parish was inhabited by the very meanest of the people, among whom there were very few Catholics, the most immaculate sacrifice of the mass was celebrated in the presence of a very great number of heretics

in the aforesaid church, in the Latin tongue, with the use of holy water, invocation of saints, and all the Roman rites, two centuries after the Latin tongue had been excluded from that church, wherein the mass had not been celebrated for very many years, either in one language or the other. This example was afterwards followed, not only by the churches of the city, but by those of all other places in the kingdom, without any complaint or outcry whatever on the part of the people; and I, being in Prague, have seen the said people conduct themselves with much attention at the divine offices."

2. Deprivation of the cup.

"Then when I had learned the desires and views of the sacred congregation of the holy office, from the letters and documents sent me at that time, I determined to forbid the cup altogether, and to give no further ear to the clamours and prayers of those inhabiting the said kingdom, arguing that if they were disposed to be obedient sons of holy church, they would walk in this as well as in every other matter in concert with the rest of the Catholic body; but if they should refuse to give up this abuse, rooted in the minds even of Catholics by that pretended concession of Pius IV, it must be held as a proof of pride and obstinacy, and as a sign that they were not true Catholics. Whence, laying aside all other considerations, and disregarding the dangers alleged by politicians, who imagined that insurrections and irremediable evils would proceed from this innovation, I caused all the parish priests to be prohibited from offering the wine to any one, commanding them that, whosoever should demand both kinds, they should ask if he were a Catholic, and on his declaring himself to be such, should set forth to him the necessity of giving obedience to the Roman ritual, which excludes the laity from the cup. Then many who were not touched by true zeal, hearing this, persisted in their obstinacy, not communicating in either form, and we meanwhile kept fast to our purpose that the cup should not be offered; but there was not one of those priests who had returned to their allegiance, and who had the reconciled churches in their cure, who would have had courage to offer the bread

only in the face of the heretics who frequented the said churches, if the chancellor Plateis had not so intrepidly commenced that holy enterprise in the parish of Saint Martin, as hath been noted above. Which usage, being introduced to the praise of God in the other churches, is observed in them with perfect tranquillity, although the statesmen gave me trouble enough in the matter. For the heretics, seeing the design that they had formed of compelling true Catholic priests to administer the sacrament under both kinds to be blown to the winds, had recourse, in the year just past, 1622, to the aid of the said statesmen; but in what manner they comported themselves on that occasion it is not my business at this time to relate. Let it be sufficient to say that they extorted a letter from Prince Lichtenstein, who was then here, by virtue of which, as though it were by order of his majesty, summoning the two parish priests of the Teyn Church and Saint Henry, who had formerly been Dominicans, they commanded them, that in the solemnities of Easter, they should present the sacrament indifferently to every one, to whatsoever ritual he might belong, under both kinds. Accordingly, on Thursday, 'in Coena Domini,' by the pure perfidy of the said statesmen, there was committed the greatest abomination in the Teyn Church; more than two thousand wicked heretics receiving the venerable body of the Lord consecrated under the two forms of bread and wine, from the hands of the legitimate priests, the holy sacrament being thus given to dogs by the fault of Catholic men. To this Plateis did not fail to make such opposition as might have been expected from him; but nothing could avail against their temerity; wherefore, to maintain the prohibition of the use of the cup, he resolved to take courage, and to dispense the sacrament publicly, under the form of bread alone, as he did three days after in the church of Saint Martin. And I, having had notice of that impious crime, went instantly to make a bitter complaint of it to his majesty, beseeching, in every manner most likely to prevail, that his ministers should not take it upon themselves to intermeddle in those things which concerned the reverence due to the awful sacrament of the altar, which belonged solely to the spiritual power, as relating to the salvation of the soul:

lamenting, further, that they, without fitting respect, should venture to interfere with the ministers of religion, not shewing any sign of obedience towards God and the holy Roman see, of which his majesty had ever proved himself so observant. By all which the emperor, being beyond measure affected, instantly gave most rigid command to the said statesmen to the effect that they should leave the care of ecclesiastical affairs and of religion to churchmen, reprehending them severely for the presumption they had committed. Thereupon they rose violently against myself and Plateis, as being those from whom they were persuaded that the rebuff they had received from his majesty had originated; and besides that they bitterly threatened Plateis, they did not abstain from assailing my authority also, intimating to monsignor the archbishop, that he was not bound to obey me in a matter of so much importance as the suppression of the use of the cup in Prague, unless I shewed him a special brief from his holiness to that effect; neither did they omit to stir up the aforesaid parish priests, bidding them be of good courage, and persuading them that they need have no fear either of me or the archbishop, since they would be always protected and upheld by the political government, to which, in that kingdom, the ecclesiastics were subjected by ancient usage. By these means they contrived that the priest of the Teyn Church, again prevaricating, committed an act of open disobedience, and had the boldness to preach to the people that they should not suffer the papists, who sought to tyrannize in every thing, to take away the use of the cup, and that they should pray to God for him, the true defender of that ancient rite of their fathers; so that the populace made some little tumult, presenting themselves that evening to the number of 2,000 at the house of that priest, as if in his defence. But this having come to my knowledge, I at once incited his majesty to indignation, and obtained his command that the said priest should be arrested, and given over to monsignore the archbishop. This was executed without any delay; and the populace which had first shewn so much eagerness for his security did not make the slightest movement, although they beheld him carried

away in the face of day, and before all the people. And he, after some weeks of incarceration, having died in prison, his place in that church, which is the principal one of the old town, was supplied by another priest, a Catholic, and further by the preaching of the canon Rottua, a man distinguished both for learning and zeal, who still administers the duties of that charge with great advantage, and the attendance of a vast concourse, both of Catholics and heretics, all of whom willingly hear the preaching of that good priest, attracted by his efficacious and attractive eloquence."

3. General proceedings.

"By decree of his majesty, and in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the preliminary congregation held in Vienna, all the cities of the kingdom have since been reformed, the heretical ministers and preachers being driven out of them, and from the districts around them. In each of them, besides the priest, there have been placed a captain, judge, president of the council and chancellor, all Catholic - the heretical worship being banished from their borders for ever; for the emperor had become convinced by experience and the example of the fidelity of Budweis, and the perfidy of almost all the others, how great a difference was made by the question of whether the cities were heretic or Catholic. And although the prince of Lichtenstein, who was already drawing back from the reform now commenced, because of the many rumours of the displeasure it caused in Saxony, continued to promote it on my causing the order to be repeated to him, yet he remained undecided respecting the circles of Eger and Culm, on account of their bordering on Saxony, and that they claimed to hold of the empire, and not of the crown of Bohemia. From all this it comes to pass that there still remain certain preachers in the kingdom who are protected by heretic barons, or by Catholics of little faith; more particularly do they abound in the circle of Leitmeritz, supported by a Catholic baron, who, professing great intimacy and friendship with the elector of Saxony, is persuaded that in this manner he does a thing highly pleasing to the said elector. It is true that from my having exhorted him to drive them forth, and

caused him to be spoken to by others to the same effect, he has promised to send them away; but I doubt that, withheld by his wife, who is a heretic, he will neglect to do so until compelled by force. Some of the preachers have also remained in those cities wherein heretic soldiers are quartered, the royal commissioners not having been willing to expose themselves to the peril of tumults by reforming these cities; but now that the expectation of war is diminishing, they will either disband these heretic soldiers, or will assign them to other quarters, in order that the reform may take place. There is one also yet remaining in the city of Kuttenberg, the prince of Lichtenstein excusing himself for not being able to expel him by declaring that, if he did so, the men of that place would not labour in the mines worked there. Nevertheless, on the return of the emperor to Prague, I trust in God that a remedy will be applied to all these things. Nor should I omit to mention that in my passage from Ratisbon to Prague, having traversed a great part of Bohemia, and thence from Prague to Vienna, I have found the reformation effected everywhere; the city of Jaromir, where certain regiments of infantry belonging to the colonel-duke of Saxony were quartered, excepted; but I afterwards sent strict orders from his majesty that this should be remedied, and also that in each of those cities the children should be educated in the Christian doctrine, and taught to pray in the Latin tongue.

"All conventicles of the heretics have been prohibited under heavy penalties, both within the city of Prague and beyond its walls, with whatever pretext they might be assembled. The order for this was given many months since, at my request; but although I had repeatedly called for its execution from the government of Prague, it had never before been enforced.

"All the heretics have been removed from the senate of the city of Prague, their places being supplied by Catholic members; and they have been deprived of all effectual authority, having left to them only a certain appearance of power in matters of no great importance, and all the privileges prejudicial to the Catholic religion, accorded to them by former kings, being formally annulled, the emperor having

an excellent opportunity for doing this, because he had reconquered the kingdom by force of arms, after it had been in open rebellion. The academy or college of Charles IV has been restored to its primitive institution, to the glory of God and the Catholic religion, being placed under the care of the Jesuit fathers, who have also the superintendence of all the schools in the kingdom; and they are, besides, using their best diligence to prevent the printing or selling of books that are contrary to Catholic truth, the booksellers and printers being subjected to their censorship. There has been some difficulty with respect to the aforesaid academy, for there was a wish for the appointment of a lay president, which I did not willingly listen to; but I hope that eventually the care of this matter will be left to the archbishop, who, by his ancient privileges, lays claim to be chancellor of the kingdom.

"An additional sum of 4,000 thalers yearly has been assigned to the house instituted in Prague for the poor by Ferdinand III, so that the number of persons supported there has been increased from 80, which they were at first, to 200. There have also been given to the Jesuit fathers 20,000 thalers at one time, to be expended on the building of their college; and in this matter it has not been requisite that they should employ my good offices, having no need of any one to mediate between them and the emperor, because of the evident utility of their proceedings. Estates producing 6,000 thalers yearly have been assigned to increase the revenues of the chapter of the cathedral, and 24,000 for the augmentation of the archiepiscopal income: but the estates of the archiepiscopate being considerably deteriorated and decayed, monsignore the archbishop desires to remain for a certain time bishop of Ossegg, that see being already assigned to the revenues of the archbishop by Rudolf, in place of the pension from the treasury, which was paid with difficulty. The parish churches of Prague, and of the whole kingdom, have been again placed at the disposal of monsignore the archbishop, even those which were originally possessed by individual nobles, who were all rebels; the emperor having reserved that right to himself, while the estates of those rebels have also been sold, care being taken that for

many leagues around Prague all the lands should be bought by Catholics."

No. 109

Relatione alla S^ta di N. S^re papa Urbano VIII delle cose appartenenti alla nuntiatura di Colonia per M^r Montorio, vescovo di Nicastro, ritornato nuntio di quelle parti l'anno di N. S^re 1624. [Report to Pope Urban VIII, of matters appertaining to the nunciature of Cologne, held by Monsignor Montorio, bishop of Nicastro.]

It was in the midst of the disorders of war that Montorio arrived in Germany. He sets forth the danger in which the Catholics would have been involved if Mansfeld, who held the Upper Rhine-land from Strassburg to Mainz, and the bishop of Halberstadt, who commanded Westphalia, could have succeeded in effecting a junction with Baden-Durlach. But all these leaders suffered defeat. He then describes the advantages that had proceeded from these victories, and the position to which the German church had attained.

In Fulda, the counter-reformation had again commenced with the utmost energy. The Catholic party had made its way into Osnabrück by the aid of the Infanta and the army of the leagued princes. In Minden they had hope of obtaining an archduke for their bishop. In Bremen, also, great effort had been made by special missions to prevail on the chapter to elect a Catholic coadjutor; but for this time a Danish prince had gained the day; yet the nuncio hoped at least to see toleration granted to the Catholic religion in all the Hanse Towns. It appeared to him that the emperor might directly demand this, more particularly as those towns derived great advantages from the Spanish and Portuguese trade. A church had already been opened in Altona, from which many hopes were formed for Catholicism in the north: "as that they might be enabled after some time to found a seminary, whence they might procure labourers, who, after they shall have learned the Norwegian and Danish tongues, may bring those more northern nations to the light of the true faith."

To secure this progress, Montorio considered internal reform in the German church indispensable. The prelates adopted the dress of the laity, and made no scruple of going to the wars: concubinage prevailed openly, and the nuncio had refused, on account of that offence, to admit a certain Hornberg, who was otherwise a very eligible candidate, to the bishopric of Würzburg. The German bishops were also said to think little of the pope; they nominated to benefices during the reserved months, and by means of their officials presumed to do many unlawful things. "They grant dispensations for marriage within the prohibited degrees; also in respect to holy orders and for vacant benefices, super defectu natalium, they make concessions extra tempora; give dispensations super defectu aetatis, and have even sometimes granted them for the marriage of persons in holy orders." They called themselves bishops "by the grace of God," without any mention of the Apostolic See, and treated their ecclesiastical possessions almost as if they were their real property. Nor were matters any better in the convents. The abbots conducted themselves as so many absolute lords. In the towns, nothing was thought of but feastings, and mixed societies of men and women. In the convents of rural districts, they gave themselves up to the chase, and nothing was seen but hounds and huntsmen.

The nuncio would very fain have set his hand to the needful reform, but he was prevented by contagious diseases, the tumults of war, and political affairs.

He treats of these also with great ability. I have not been able to adopt into my text all that he says of the transfer of the Electorate, and will therefore insert it here.

"The affairs that have occurred up to the present time are perhaps known to your holiness; and, although the briefs that were sent me by Pope Gregory, to the effect that I should proceed to the diet assembled for those matters in Ratisbon, arrived somewhat late, I proceeded nevertheless, during the utmost rigour of winter, and at very great cost, much discomfort, and many perils, to present myself there. But having reached Würzburg, and having made known my coming to the ministers of your holiness, and to the

electoral princes congregated there, it was signified to me that my presence was no longer necessary, since the conclusion of the affair was retarded by a more important cause than the absence of agreement among the princes there assembled, and that the sight of so many apostolic ministers gathered there would but increase the difficulty by awakening the jealousy of the Protestants, and causing them to think this transfer treated rather as a matter of religion than of state policy. I abstained, therefore, from going thither, and the more readily because the elector of Mainz, who, as dean of the electoral college, was, so to speak, the arbiter of the matter, having been solicited by me some months before, remained firm in the promises then made me, that he would promote the designs of the pope and the emperor. The commissioners from Trier had orders from their prince, given at my instance, that they should not dissent from the resolutions made by the electors of Mainz and Cologne. I will not pause here to point out to your holiness the difficulties which I encountered in disposing Mainz to agree to the said transfer, for at one time he would say that he abhorred the city of Ratisbon, because its air was injurious to his health; at another time, he affirmed that he was entirely drained of money, and could not support the expenses which a suitable appearance in that city would require; then, that the business was not ripe, the consent of Spain and Saxony not having been obtained; anon, that he feared the menaces of the king of England, of the duke, and of other sectaries; and, finally, that this transfer would kindle a new and more sanguinary war in Germany, to the obvious detriment of the Catholic religion, whilst the ecclesiastical princes who had hitherto borne all the burden of the war, and must continue to bear it, exhausted by their previous contributions to the League, despoiled of their possessions by the insolence and rapine of our own soldiers, no less than by those of the enemy, not only were destitute of means to prepare for a new war, but were reduced to such extremities that they had been constrained to dismiss their households and to live almost privately. Nor did he fail to bring forward the claims of the count palatine of Neuburg, as being the nearest kinsman of

the Palatine, and not likely to awaken so much jealousy among Protestants, who dreaded the aggrandizement of the Bavarian, to whom, in conformity with the imperial constitutions, according to the golden bull, that dignity was due as to the nearest claimant, the said duke protesting that to his last breath he would never consent that others should be preferred to him. But let it suffice to say, that in four or five days, during which I stayed with him in Aschaffenburg, and after long discourses, both by word of mouth and in writing, I obtained the decision that I desired. The transfer was effected, and is still maintained. The Palatinate is occupied in part by the Bavarian, in part by the Spaniards; nor does any thing remain to the Palatine except the city of Frankenthal, deposited for a certain period in the hands of the most serene Infanta of Flanders, in concert with the English king.

"While I was in Aschaffenburg respecting this affair, the news of the taking of Heidelberg arrived there; and I, having already made efforts, by commission of his holiness, with the duke of Bavaria for the Palatine library, and having received the offer of it, sent instantly an express to Count Tilly, urging him to look to the preservation of the same, since I had been assured that, both for the quality and quantity of the books, principally manuscripts, it was of inestimable value; and his excellency replied that all was in his possession, and carefully preserved according to the duke's orders. Whereof, when I had given my report to the masters, they having sent a person to take it, the said library was, after some months' delay, conveyed to Rome."

No. 110

Instruttione a V. S. Mons^r Caraffa, vescovo di Tricarico, destinato da N. S. suo nuntio in Colonia. 26 *Giugno*, 1624. [Instruction to Monsignor Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, despatched by the pope as nuncio to Cologne.]

Luigi Caraffa was the successor of Mòntorio: he was nuncio to Cologne at the same time that Carlo Caraffa administered the nunciature of Vienna.

The pope communicates his views respecting German affairs to the nuncio in a very circumstantial Instruction.

He therein discusses all those points respecting the internal discipline of the Church which had been suggested by Montorio. The Apostolic See had already suffered great losses, both in revenue and consideration; the nuncio is exhorted to labour for the recovery of these lost advantages. "V. S. stia attentissima a tutto quello che può sostentare l'autorità apostolica e specialmente a procurare che da essa eschino le dovute provisioni beneficiali." It is to be remarked, that instructions are here given to the nuncio which are directly founded on the counsels of Minuccio Minucci. He is required, for example, to send a list to Rome of such German ecclesiastics as were most worthy of promotion. "De' più costumati, de' più dotti, de' più nobili, de' meglio appoggiati all' autorità d'alcun principe cattolico.—Così noi aremo notizie tali che sollecitamente la sede apostolica potrà provedere prima che scorra il suo tempo." This is precisely the proceeding which Minucci had recommended in 1588. But time had also suggested other measures. The most important of these was that a Catholic coadjutor might be appointed to any see, even during the lifetime of a bishop, on his becoming too old for its due administration. This had already been done in Paderborn as well as in Münster, and with the best results.

The principal matter, nevertheless, was still the more extensive diffusion of Catholicism.

The Catholic League was to be maintained by every possible effort. The nuncio is charged to see that all pay their contributions to that object. There was an ecclesiastical society founded in Cologne for the conversion of Protestants, in which the princes of Austria and Bavaria took part, and which possessed a good revenue: the nuncio is instructed to be careful that it did not decline. Certain princely houses were fixed upon as presenting hopes that they might the most readily be won over to Catholicism; namely Darmstadt and Saxony. The nuncio is exhorted to stimulate this disposition, "that those princes might not withstand the grace which God may shew them." He is, above all, to promote the erection of seminaries, and the

introduction of the Jesuits. This passage is perhaps the most important of the whole Instruction, and may be subjoined in full.

"It will be a work most worthy of your lordship to labour for the promotion of the seminaries already founded, and to cause that new ones shall be instituted; and for these and similar works, who does not see that the Jesuit fathers are admirable? Therefore the predecessor of your most reverend lordship took measures to procure their introduction into Frankfurt, writing the most earnest letters on that subject to the emperor; and the elector of Cologne was equally willing to act in that matter. Then our lord the pope, in furtherance of this good purpose, caused his nuncio at the court of the emperor to be written to, that he might in no case be displeased thereat; and your lordship will concert with him for what remains to be done, advising him of the progress made, and the hopes that may be entertained. The elector of Mainz has made representations to his holiness, that by divine favour the Catholic religion is gaining hold on the Lower Palatinate, and that nothing is judged more expedient as a means for its propagation than the erection of seminaries and houses wherein the nobles of the Rhine may be brought together: to do which, he has suggested to his holiness that the property of certain monasteries might be very suitably applied, more especially those of Germersheim, Spanheim, and Odernheim, situated in the diocese of Mainz, and formerly occupied by the princes palatine of the Rhine. And this proposal was considered to be of great moment by his holiness; but before deciding upon it, he desired that the predecessor of your lordship, having diligently taken precise information, should report to him distinctly respecting the condition of the said monasteries, with his opinion of the matter; but the shortness of the time not having permitted him to execute all these things, his holiness desires that your lordship should complete what remains to be done with the utmost diligence and exactitude.

"The elector of Cologne also desires to found an university in his city of Münster, and the question has been discussed in the sacred congregation 'de propaganda fide,' his holiness being disposed to favour the institution of the said

university, but on condition that, in addition to the sciences, the canon and civil laws should be taught therein. And this shall serve for the guidance of your lordship, so that you may treat with the said elector on this understanding, when his highness shall speak to you of having obtained the apostolic permission for the said institution."

No. 111

Relatione dell' ill^mo et ecc^mo Sig^r Pietro Contarini K^r, ritornato dell' ambasceria ordinaria di Roma, presentata alli 22 Giugno, 1627, e letta il medesimo giorno nell' ecc^mo senato. [Report read to the Venetian Senate of Pietro Contarini, ordinary ambassador to Rome.]

P. Contarini had passed more than three years and a half (forty-four months), at the court of Urban VIII, when he presented this report.

He makes four divisions, and in these he treats of the temporal government, the spiritual administration, the most important affairs of the court, and its most influential members.

He is particularly full and instructive on the extension of the spiritual jurisdiction. He considers that it had never before been exercised in Italy with so much rigour. By its double purpose of maintaining an immediate command over the ecclesiastical body, and the unrestricted disposal of all Church property, the Roman court must become very dangerous to temporal princes. He describes Urban VIII as often remarking that if a Venetian noble were seated on the papal throne, he could not be more disposed towards the Venetians than himself, the reigning pontiff. But notwithstanding this, they could never obtain the smallest favour at his hands.

Generally speaking, the ambassador had a bad opinion of the whole Roman system. The ruling principle of the entire administration was nepotism.

"The disposition of the popes to aggrandize their nephews, gives the moving impulse in the present day to all actions, all declarations, and all transactions with other

princes. At first the popes think of undertakings against the infidel, or the acquirement of dominion; but as the years are short, and the difficulties many, this purpose is abandoned without producing any effect whatever, and then they take another and more easy course, accumulating great riches, and buying estates."

He describes the immediate circle of Urban in the following manner:—

"The pontiff most commonly takes counsel with Cardinal Magalotti, whose sister his brother married, and who still holds the office of secretary of state, all the public despatches passing through his hands. The cardinal is a man of extensive and powerful intellect, and is much esteemed by the pope, who always desires to have him near his person, more especially in the legation of Bologna, where he gave him the viceregency of that government. Thus if there be any man who has been able to attain a high position in the opinion of his holiness, he is that one; nor is it known whether this proceeds from a real inclination on the part of the pope, or from the great prudence of the cardinal, who, being well acquainted with the character of one whom he has served so long, is aware of the proper means for maintaining himself in his position, and avails himself of them: but it is certain that he may be said to have the sole management of all important affairs. He takes great pains, however, to adjust his proceedings to the inclinations of the pontiff, contradicts him as rarely as possible, and labours to bring his own opinions into conformity with those of the pope, to the end that he may preserve his position with the credit and reputation that he derives from being always employed in the most momentous transactions. He seeks to escape the enmity entertained for the most part against those who are seen to be near the prince, and who share his power and favour, by abstaining from all ostentation of authority, by avoiding the regular audiences of ministers belonging to foreign princes, of cardinals, and of almost all others, treating only of such matters as are expressly committed to him. And this he does above all to avoid awakening the jealousy of Cardinal Barberini, who did not seem at first entirely satisfied at seeing him so

greatly advanced, and employed by the pope more than himself; so that Barberini was often heard to express his feelings to that effect. But he now permits things to take their course, and seems to confide in his uncle, either because he is willing to remain free from the weight of business, or because he does not know how, or knows that he has not power, to impede the fortunes of Magalotti. All things, however, are shared between the said Cardinal Barberini, S. Onofrio, and Don Carlo.

"The first, as nephew, is truly beloved. His holiness would indeed be glad to see him apply more diligently to business, but he appears to be really averse to it, nor does his disposition seem in anywise formed thereto. It appears to be almost by force that he attends, where, by the office he holds, he cannot possibly do otherwise, throwing the weight of the most important affairs on the said Cardinal Magalotti, and even being content to despoil himself of things that ought to belong to him for the sake of investing his uncle with them, contrary to the practice in former pontificates, whether from weakness, or from not knowing how to avail himself of that authority which he who attains to so eminent a station should possess. He is a man of the most exemplary, virtuous, and praiseworthy habits, of a most kindly nature, and one who gives the solitary example of refusing every kind of present. He will, nevertheless, be equal to any other cardinal in wealth and grandeur, should the pope have a long life. He must now have somewhere about 80,000 scudi yearly from ecclesiastical benefices; and with the governments and legations that he holds, this must approach to 100,000 scudi. Investments of moment are also beginning to be made, and the best of all that is acquired will be for him. Moreover he spends but little, and will therefore shortly accumulate immense wealth.

"Cardinal S. Onofrio, having constantly lived among the Capuchins, and having always led a most devout life, never intermeddles with any thing not directly committed to him. Of the affairs of the world he knows little, and understands less; and his inability in this respect was made fully manifest during the absence of Barberini, because it then became

necessary to transact business with him. He has now gone to reside in his diocese of Sinigaglia.

"Don Carlo, brother of the pontiff, is general of the holy Church; and all that appertains to the army, to fortresses, or the galleys, is under his command. He is a man of intelligence and prudence, cautious in discussing and transacting business, and perfectly conversant with the care of the exchequer and management of the revenue, having been well practised in affairs, and being skilled in those matters. He has to a certain extent relaxed from his early application to business, that he may not too heavily burden his advanced years (he being the elder of the brothers), and also in part from inclination.

"His holiness has two other nephews. Don Taddeo, whom he has chosen to found the family, a young man of about twenty three, most noble in manner, of highly ingenuous character, and greatly beloved by the whole court. The pope had some intention of making him prefect of the city after the death of the duke of Urbino, who now enjoys that title,—a most dignified office, taking precedence of all others, being held for life, and not liable to change even on the death of his holiness. The second of these two nephews is Don Antonio, commendator of Malta, aged eighteen: he has about 14,000 scudi from his commandery; is of prompt and vivacious character, and in good time will certainly be ready to secure his own share in the exaltation of his house. He is desirous of being also raised to the cardinalate, and it is believed that his holiness will gratify his wish. Many of those who do not love Cardinal Magalotti would willingly see him promoted to that dignity as soon as possible, because they think that he might attain to what his brother has not been able to compass,—to counterbalance Magalotti, that is, and to form an opposition to him."

We have the affairs of the Valtelline here discussed in their whole extent.

"The other important affair is that of the Valtelline, on which his holiness has indeed bestowed great labour, but with varying results; although it is said that he might at first have applied himself more earnestly to it, and with more decided remedies; but having entered on a matter

so arduous in the first days of his pontificate, and when hardly convalescent from a long illness, with his thoughts, besides, more given to the papacy than to this affair, he may perhaps have suffered many things to take their course, which it was not difficult to provide against at that time, but which it was impossible to remedy afterwards. It was in the hands of Gregory XV that the Valtelline was deposited by the Spaniards, and they consigned Chiavenna with its surrounding territory, under the same conditions, to the present pontiff. The first negotiations were effected by means of the commendator Sillery, with so much caution and secrecy, that not only was the certainty of their existence withheld from the ministers of your serenity, who had nevertheless, to take so important a part in the transaction, but it was with difficulty that they acquired a knowledge of the real nature of what was transacted. The pope concerned himself for nothing but to receive security for the payment of the garrisons that he maintained in the forts of the valley; and after many complaints and much pressing, he obtained, I believe, between the two kings, about 200,000 scudi. This money tended somewhat to diminish his disapprobation of that deposit; which he nevertheless always greatly condemned, both before and afterwards, esteeming it to be adverse to his interests, but not considering the injury that might result from his procrastination and irresolute management of the matter.

"The people of the Valtelline offered themselves to the pope as vassals, assuring him that the duties he might impose on wines and cheese would suffice to maintain the garrisons required in ordinary times for the defence of that valley. Many represented to the pope, that to restore the Valtelline to the Grisons, and to replace Catholics in the hands of heretics, was not to be thought of, and could not be done without the greatest scandal and injury; that no one would consent to see it made over to the Spaniards, who on their part would not suffer it to be given up to the French or other temporal powers; neither would there be any better course than that the Valtelline should be preserved to the Church, since there was nothing of any moment in that country except the passes, which can be held or claimed

only for going or coming beyond the mountains; thus, if these should remain in the power of the pope, the common father, he would always have them kept open, according to the wants and requirements of all. The arguments thus stated did not fail to make an impression, as arguments mostly do, however slight their foundation; nay, sometimes they will even persuade the hearer, though feeble in themselves, where there appears some prospect of advantage or utility. His holiness suffered himself to listen to the suggestion, and even added that if there should be any difficulty in the retention of the Valtelline by the Church, they might invest one of his nephews with it. The plan had at first been promoted by the Spaniards, but eventually it did not please them any more than the French; and there was finally concluded by Sillery that treaty, well known to your serenity, which was not approved in France by the king, principally for that article of it which allowed passage to the Spaniards for their troops going into Flanders, and for the same, exclusively, on their return. The formation of the Valtelline into a fourth league, which the Spaniards desired so eagerly, the pope would still less consent to permit. The ambassador was changed on that account, or perhaps because of the fall of the chancellor, and of Puysieux the secretary, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of the said Sillery. There then arrived in Rome a minister of wiser counsels and more extended views, as well as more determined character, Monsignor de Bethune; he annulled the decisions of his predecessor, insisted on the treaty of Madrid, which he firmly upheld; absolutely refused to allow the pass to the Spaniards for any purpose whatever, and pressed the pontiff in frequent audiences to come to some resolution, since the League could not consent to more protracted negotiation or longer delay.

"The pope, who had not expected to find so much resolution among those of the League, nor had any thought that they would take arms on this account, being also constantly assured by letters from his nuncios in France and Switzerland that the Marquis de Coeuvres would never raise the standard of the king where the ensigns of his holiness were floating, continued nevertheless in his irresolution, and

the more the difficulties increased and were made manifest, the more he persuaded himself (nor were there wanting those who confirmed him in his idea) that at the end of the contest he would finally remain in possession. Wherefore Bethune signified ultimately to the pope that the king and the League together jointly entreated him to remit the fortresses to the Spaniards, in conformity with the terms of the deposit, to the end that if there were a necessity for appealing to arms, they might avoid the reproach of acting disrespectfully by advancing against those of his holiness, and that if the pope would now take the resolution that he ought to adopt of offering the forts to the Spaniards, all would yet be adjusted to his honour and to the satisfaction of others ; for the Spaniards would not have received them, not finding themselves in a condition to defend them, while all cause of complaint would cease by the pope's fulfilment of the conditions of the deposit in due time, nor could any one oppose their being left to the Grisons. Some days elapsed, when at length the Marquis de Coeuvres surprised Plata Mala, and the pope then made various pretexts, first demanding three months of time, but afterwards restricting himself to so much only as was required to write to Spain and make the offer, affirming that the ministers in Italy did not possess authority to receive the fortresses. But the enterprise of the marquis being already far advanced, and its success increasing from day to day, it was not considered advisable, and might even have proved injurious, to suspend the proceedings while awaiting replies from Spain which could not but be uncertain. The pope was accordingly deprived by degrees of all that he held in deposit, the only places remaining to him being Riva and Chiavenna, which alone had been succoured by the Spaniards. His holiness complained that these last, although appealed to from the beginning to defend the passes, never came to his assistance, while they complained that they had not been summoned in due time ; so that the Spaniards were much dissatisfied, the French by no means content, and his holiness, infinitely displeased by the little respect that had been displayed towards his banners, complains of it continually and bitterly to every one. The Spaniards do much the same, attributing all the disasters that have occurred to

his holiness, and complaining of him more than of any thing else; and although the pontiff subsequently despatched his nephew as legate both to France and Spain, with the purpose well known to your serenity, and knew that the Italian arms had made a still more important movement, and that the dangers would become more serious if the powers proceeded earnestly, he has nevertheless not yet been able to get rid of his first notion, that all the mischievous results experienced have proceeded from the early arrangements having been unskilfully made. But the French as well as the Spaniards attributed the vexations and difficulties encountered in that negotiation to the pretensions of the pope, who required that the fortresses should be consigned to him without any declaration on his part as to what he would do with them, but positively refusing to demolish them. Thus it became extremely difficult to find any suitable expedient for arranging the matter, so much time was lost, so many attempts were made uselessly, and the matter was finally taken to Spain, because in Rome there was too much difficulty in bringing it to a termination."

No. 112

Relatione dello stato dell' imperio e della Germania fatta da Monsr Caraffa nel tempo che era nuntio alla corte dell' imperatore, l'anno 1628. [Report on the state of the empire and of Germany made by Monsignor Caraffa, while nuncio at the imperial court.]

This Report is, upon the whole, the most circumstantial that I have met with: in a Roman copy it extended to 1,080 folio pages. It is not rare even in Germany. I bought a copy in Leipsic, and there is another in a private library in Berlin, in a beautiful folio volume with a splendid title-page; this was presented by a certain Wynman to the bishop of Eichstädt in the year 1655.

It consists of four parts. In the first, there is a general description of the German troubles; in the second, the situation, possessions, and various relations of Ferdinand II

are described; in the third, the German principalities are treated of according to the circles; and in the fourth, the alliances that had been formed in Germany, more particularly those recently concluded.

The author declares that he will write nothing which he has not himself seen, or has otherwise ascertained to be worthy of belief. "Protesting that whatever I shall write will be what I have seen and partly acted in myself, during the eight years that I have been in Germany, or what I have heard from persons worthy of credit; and partly what I have read in letters, diaries, and official papers, both of friends and enemies, which have been intercepted at different times, and whereof some have been printed, but others not."

From this we see that the author intended to produce a scholarly digest. In some places he shews consideration for his readers in general, and it is very probable that he contemplated publishing his work. It did not, however, receive this honour until our own day, when it was printed by the Imperial Academy at Vienna (1859). Professor Müller, of Hildesheim, undertook the labour of preparing a readable text, which he accompanied with numerous valuable notes.

It is thus no longer necessary to give an account of the contents of the report, or to make extracts from it. But the fact of its wider distribution and accessibility makes it all the more important to discuss the question of the originality and composition of the work. For it deals with one of the great turning-points of German history: the period when it appeared certain that the Emperor Ferdinand II would become lord and master over protestant Germany and the opposition in the imperial states generally. The significance of this moment had already at that time called forth several other attempts to describe it.

Among others, I came across many years ago in the library of St. Mark's, Venice, a report with the title "Relatione dello stato e delle forze della Germania et de' principi d'essa," dating from this time. It made a great impression on me, owing to the curious characterizations of eminent persons contained in it. When the elaborate work of Caraffa came into my hands in Rome, it occurred to me

that it often agreed word for word with this anonymous report, though I could not believe that they were both the work of the same author. The anonymous writer, who was undoubtedly a Catholic also, shews a certain absence of partizanship, and an independence of judgment, while in Caraffa the convictions of an enthusiastic propagandist continually come to light, both in his views and his recollections.

As to the agreement between the two works, two or three examples may suffice. Thus in both mention is made of the love of the emperor for vocal and instrumental music, because it is of service to him in praising God; and of the devotion of the Empress Leonore to her husband—"pare del tutto transformata nella volontà e sodisfattione del marito si nella pietà singolare come in secondare l'imperatore nelle caccie;" only that in Caraffa her participation in the hunt is spoken of as something in the past. Of the young King Ferdinand Ernest both reports say that he shews determination, and will one day exact stricter obedience than his father: "vorrà esser più obedito del padre." The characterization in the two reports of the king of Denmark, the electors of Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, and the imperial ministers, correspond in a similar manner.

The question arises, which of the two is it that borrows from the other? I have no hesitation in giving my opinion that the anonymous report is the original.

Here we read, in the description of the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria: "Guadagna assai con le provisioni dell' esercito della lega, della quale ella è luogotenente generale appresso l'imperatore" [he makes considerable profit from the provisioning of the army of the league, of which he is lieutenant-general under the emperor], a rather severe charge, which Caraffa also mentions, without, however, allowing the truth of it. After reproducing the anonymous report almost word for word up to this point (p. 237), he continues, "dicono anco, se bene io non lo credo, che S. Altezza habbi guadagnato e guadagni assai con le provisioni dell' esercito della lega, della quale egli è luogotenente apresso l'imperatore." We are not concerned with the truth or otherwise of this accusation; the point is that Caraffa is trying to controvert the

anonymous report, which shews that he had it in front of him among his materials. If we compare the wording, we come across other variations which sometimes reverse the meaning; in this very description of Maximilian I find in the anonymous work an important passage concerning the relations of Spain to Pfalz-Neuburg, which Caraffa has omitted.

Enough has been said to shew that Caraffa's work contains elements from another report, which he has used, after the manner of the time, not altering much, but often modifying the sense. If we turn to the composition of the report, we find that the construction, at least in the second and third parts, with which we are here concerned, is very loose.

Where he mentions Prague as a former imperial residence, he inserts a detailed account of the reconversion of Bohemia to Catholicism, and his own part in it. The mention of the raising of the hereditary prince to the throne of Bohemia, gives him occasion to interpolate a description of his previous election to the throne of Hungary. To the characterization of Maximilian he adds a long account of the transference to him of the Palatinate, although he has already spoken of this event. After this he comes, as he says, "per ritornare all' ordine della mia relatione," to the younger brother of the elector, whom he describes in the words of the anonymous report: "riesce più dell' opinione degli huomini."

These interpolations are in themselves of great value; they give us information not to be found elsewhere, and bear the stamp of truth. The account of the recatholization of Bohemia is a revision of Caraffa's own "Ragguaglio" mentioned above, though with some variations. For instance, in the report he says that he arrived in Germany some months after the battle of the White Hill; in the Ragguaglio he is more precise: "Io giunsi quà l'anno 1621, verso la fine del mese del Maggio sette mesi dopo la vittoria di Praga." In the report he mentions that he has conferred with the ministers and councillors of state; in the Ragguaglio, more exactly, "col principe de Echenberg e con gli altri del consiglio secreto." The Ragguaglio also contains details concerning the progress of the conversion itself, which have been omitted in the revision; in one case, indeed, a statement is made in a directly contrary sense.

Thus it is clear that the information contained in the report is not enough to make it possible to dispense with the Ragguaglio. It is a revision, not a transcription. The authenticity of the report, which might otherwise perhaps be questioned, is hereby proved: the author speaks in the first person, as he does in many other passages, where he introduces remarks from his own observation.

But it is difficult to decide how much of his information is original and how much not. I will give only one instance. In the little book, reprinted by the Elzevirs, entitled "Status particularis regiminis S.C.M. Ferdinandi II," some observations are quoted from a report of the nuncio Pallotta which, as Prof. Müller has already noticed, appear at least in a very similar form in Caraffa's report. In itself it would be quite possible that here a mistake had taken place, the two nuncios being confused; but apparently it is not so. For some of the most pregnant expressions quoted from Pallotta in the "Status regiminis," *e.g.* that the emperor, a man after God's heart, believed, like David, that no mortal could hurt him, the Lord's anointed, and that his holy imperial person could be injured by no misfortune—"quod nemo mortalium ipsi veluti uncto domini nocere neque sacra Sua Caesarea persona ab ullo malo opprimi queat"—occur in a less emphatic form in Caraffa. There it runs: "si può dire ch'a guisa d'un altro Davidde habbia ella speranza nella divina potentia che non potra mai perire nè cadere per qualunque infortunio." It is evident that the Protestant author of the "Status" did not take his illuminating and significant rendering from this weak passage; it is more likely that it occurs in the report of Pallotta exactly as he quotes it. The "si può dire" of Caraffa suggests that that report lay before him, but that he did not repeat the expressions he found there in their full strength.

Pallotta was the successor of Caraffa. If the latter, when composing his work at a later date for publication, used Pallotta's report, he would no doubt have taken much more from it than the one passage that has been quoted; it would have formed a very essential part of his materials. In the "Status" we find some blunders, *e.g.* at the very outset about the father of Ferdinand II, which are corrected by

Caraffa; but would not this also seem to prove that Caraffa cannot have been seen by the author of the "Status"?

I see, at any rate, that here lies a further field for research. Above all it would be necessary to have the report of Pallotta before one, in order to arrive at a sure conclusion.

So much only is certain, that Caraffa put together his report from various materials, some of which were his own, and others not. It is rather a compilation than a really original work. Even, however, if all the sources from which it is drawn were available, it would still be of value owing to the observations which the author has added from his personal knowledge.

No. 113

Relatio status ecclesiae et totius dioecesis Augustanae, 1629.

A document of no particular importance. It is principally occupied with the affairs of the city of Augsburg.

The activity, labours, and final expulsion of the Protestant "Pseudo-Doctors" from Augsburg, is the chief subject of the author. He hopes that when this has been completely effected by the emperor's sanction, obtained principally by the efforts of Hieronymus Imhof and Bernhard Rehlingen, the inhabitants will all soon become once more Catholic.

No. 114

Legatio apost^ca P. Aloys. Carafae, episcopi Tricaricensis, sedente Urbano VIII Pont. M. ad tractum Rheni et ad prov. inferioris Germaniae obita, ab anno 1624 *usque ad annum* 1634. *Ad C^lem Franc. Barberinum.*

A very circumstantial report of 204 leaves; it is perhaps somewhat diffuse, but contains some useful matter.

We have, first, an account of the journey, and here much space is lost in mere trifling detail. Among other places the nuncio visits Fulda, and makes a great merit of having

reduced the number of sixteen quarterings required to qualify a man for the dignity of that abbacy to eight.

He is extremely minute in the description of the dispute existing between Liège and the bishop, in which he took himself an active part: he transferred the seat of the nunciature from Cologne to Liège.

The most remarkable passage of this document is without doubt the description of the Catholic universities at that time existing within the limits of the nunciature.

We perceive from these details how entirely the higher branches of instruction were at that time in the hands of the Jesuits. They were the masters in Trier and Mainz. Paderborn, Münster, and Osnabrück, where a high school had been recently founded, were completely in their hands; but they taught only the humaniora, philosophy, and theology. Judicial studies were entirely neglected. In Cologne, which still continued the first of these universities, medicine was taught by two professors only, who had very few attendants at their lectures. The principal evil in Cologne had formerly been that the professors were much too amply provided with prebendal stalls. "By the wealth of these, being supplied with means for an easy and pleasant life, they rarely or never taught the sacred doctrines in their own person, but constantly used the vicarious labours of others. Thus the students were instructed without solidity or method, and fifteen years were not unfrequently suffered to pass before they had gone through a course of theology, which thing was heretofore of no small inconvenience to the archbishopric of Cologne, and especially to the jurisdictions of Jülich, Cleves, and Mons, because parish priests and clergy fit for the cure of souls and able to repair the ruins of the Catholic religion, could not on this account be there appointed until after very long delays."

This the Jesuit fathers reformed. The college of the Three Crowns, which was made over to them, enjoyed a high reputation; in 1634 it had more than 1,200 students. But the taste for a life of enjoyment above alluded to, was not so easily eradicated. The feasts of the masters increased the costs of promotion and encouraged luxury. "Through Lent there are daily drinking-parties among the

students." Our nuncio describes the Catholicism and good living of the Cologne people by no means badly. "The people of Cologne hold most firmly to the religion of their ancestors, which they have never departed from since it was first adopted. It is true that some few families of the sectaries are tolerated in the city, but all exercise of their creed is forbidden to them, and they are heavily fined if they are discovered to hold private conventicles, or are caught listening to the bellowing trumpeters of Luther or Calvin. In the senate itself none may be elected who are not Catholics; but none of them who have been enrolled and come to the court, can express an opinion or give a vote, unless they have that same day been present at the sacred rites in the chapel nearest to the senatorial palace. By night the citizens themselves hold watch in the principal parts of the city, nor need any fear violence or insult, because, if clamours arise, they hasten thither to give aid; but robbers and assassins they place in bonds. All the streets are, moreover, closed at night with iron chains; nor do they permit free circulation, so that the people for the most part proceed very tranquilly. Among other advantages possessed by the people, there should first be commemorated the fact, that each is permitted to purchase oxen and pigs at the beginning of winter, which he preserves in his house by means of smoke, drying them for the consumption of the year ensuing: of these they eat largely. An entire year is allowed them to pay the price, which is meanwhile advanced to the merchant by those appointed to that effect by the senate. Nor will any of the artisans, however poor, suffer a want of good faith to appear in this matter; because in that case they could never again enjoy that signal advantage in the purchase of their food thus afforded them by the public moneys. There are also public tables in the various districts, where all may eat together at a fixed and moderate price, on week-day festivals."

But it is not towns and universities alone that our author describes; princes and events are also depicted: Ferdinand of Cologne, "gravitate morum, professione pietatis et ingenii maturitate nulli secundus:" Frederick of Würzburg, "linguarum etiam exterarum peritia, morum suavi quadam

gravitate, prudentissima dexteritate omnibus carus:" Casimir of Mainz, "eloquens vir in Germanico idiomate, legationibus functus."

Respecting the remarkable events of that period also, Caraffa supplies many remarkable notices. I know not whereon the opinion has been founded, that Wallenstein could have taken Stralsund, "si, quod multi existimant, pecuniam quam urbem capere non maluisset." He considers it a great misfortune that Tilly did not dare to throw himself on Saxony at the first movement made by that country. His description of the state of Cologne after the battle of Leipzig, and of the views first manifested by the French at that moment, is also very remarkable.

"By the blow received at Leipzig, the forces and the spirits of the Catholics were alike broken, and fear or want of ability in the defence of their fastnesses, suddenly opened a vast inlet for the victorious enemy, so that he could at once invade the very centre of the empire, with such force of arms, that Fulda, Würzburg, Bamberg, Mainz, Worms, Spires, and other cities and towns, were in a short time either taken by storm or surrendered. Cologne remained the refuge of the exiled princes, and treasures were brought into that city, belonging to the church as well as to the laity, and comprising all that it had been possible to carry away before the outbreak of that vehement and sudden tempest of war. Here the princes with anxious and doubtful care took counsel whether, as the French ambassador had proposed, it were expedient that neither those princes nor yet the city itself should, from that time forward, turn their arms in favour either of the emperor or King Gustavus. This, the ambassador of the most Christian king recommended to Cologne, but he affirmed it to be necessary that garrisons from the legions of his own sovereign should be introduced into that city, and also into other places belonging to the electoral princes; for that thus, King Gustavus, respecting Cologne, would turn his arms elsewhere; or if, notwithstanding, he should resolve on coming as an enemy, he would justly provoke the most Christian king, and the alliance being ended, would begin to experience his enmity and anger. Heavy indeed seemed that condition of

admitting garrisons from the cohorts of a foreign king into the cities and strong places of the empire; but much more grievous were the other conditions, by which it was proposed that they should thenceforth assist neither party, because, in a war so dubious, to give no aid to the emperor, but as it were to desert him, seemed wholly adverse to the most ancient habit and feeling of the princes and cities, as well as foreign to the principles of the empire itself. Yet that this was the only advice to be adopted, the only post of safety that remained, was equally the opinion of the apostolic nuncio at Paris, to whom I had written concerning the enormous blows inflicted on the Catholic religion, its temples and altars, by King Gustavus."

There follows further a minute account of the catastrophe of Wallenstein, which I shall give elsewhere.

No. 115

Relatione della corte di Roma del Sig^r K^r Aluise Contarini, dell' anno 1632 *al* 1635. [Report on the court of Rome by Aluise Contarini.] Arch. Ven.

Between the foregoing reports and those which follow there is a gap, which has been filled by Barozzi and Berchet, in the first volume of the third series of the "Relazioni degli stati Europei" ("Relazioni di Roma"), 1877. Here we find (pp. 253–348) a reprint of the reports of Angelo Contarini (1627–1629) and Giovanni Pesaro (1630–1632); the latter was found in the collection of the State inquisitors; for so delicate were the relations of the republic to the papal court that the reports of the ambassadors had to be secreted. They are almost too much concerned with passing incidents, and represent the impression of the pope received in the difficult negotiations above mentioned, so that they do not supplement our knowledge materially. I have, however, used one passage from Contarini.

The report of Aluise Contarini which I found in the Venetian archives has far greater value. It is a very

copious report in 35 chapters, containing 140 pages, and doubly important, because Aluise Contarini had proceeded directly from France to Rome, and was therefore more capable of forming a judgment respecting the very peculiar position assumed at that time in politics by Urban VIII.

He first describes the spiritual and temporal administration of the pope.

He considers it to be entirely monarchical. Of all the old congregations, one only, that of the Inquisition, assembled regularly. They had no other privileges than that people still drew up their carriages when they met them, that they were invested with the purple, and retained a voice in the election of the pontiff; but the pope was so little disposed towards them, that in affairs of weight, he would rather use the services of inferior prelates, whose hopes depended principally on himself, than of cardinals, who were already possessed of more independence.

But the more closely the rein is drawn, so much the more does authority become weakened. "L'antica veneratione sta oggidì molto diminuita."

The inhabitants of Urbino were more particularly discontented. "The subjects of that duchy complain much of the change, calling the government of the priests a tyranny, they having no other care than that of enriching and advancing themselves." The author perpetually complains that Urbino should have fallen into the hands of the pope, lamenting it as a great loss to Spain and Venice.

In a second part, he describes the personal qualities of those concerning whom he treats.

"Pope Urban VIII was born in April, 1567 (others say 1568); thus he is approaching the 69th year of his age; but he preserves the force of his constitution, which is not subject to any malady, as well as the vigour of his intellect. He is of middle height and dark complexion, his hair is white, his eye quick, his utterance rapid, his temperament sanguine and bilious. He lives rigidly by rule. He regulates his actions in great measure by the motions of the heavens, with respect to which he has great knowledge, although he has prohibited the study of them to all others under pain of the heaviest censures. His movements are

sudden, and so violent, that they sometimes border on absurdity; for he cannot take patience and restrain them; but he says that this commotion of the bile from time to time is very useful, by stimulating the natural heat to the preservation of his health. He rides, takes pleasure in the country, walks, and is fond of exercise. He does not trouble himself when things go wrong; and all these things concur to make it probable that he will yet have some years of life, although he fell off very considerably during my sojourn at his court.

"He attained to the pontificate after an uninterrupted service at court of more than thirty years. He was first a prelate of the Segnatura, and afterwards governor of Fano. Soon after this second promotion, he bought offices at court, and ultimately the clerkship of the chamber; this he did with the help of his paternal uncle, Francesco Barberini, a prelate of little repute, but of great wealth, accumulated with Florentine parsimony. Clement VIII employed him in various offices, but particularly in relation to the new cutting of the Po, and from this have arisen in great measure the present contentions with the republic respecting boundaries, which result in part from the knowledge he possesses of this matter, and in part from his resentment at the affair not having been conducted at that time according to his wishes. He was then, by the same Clement, sent as nuncio into France, first as nuncio-extraordinary for the baptism of the present king, and afterwards as nuncio in ordinary to his father, Henry IV, when he proved himself a most zealous defender of the ecclesiastical immunities. Paul V, successor of Clement, confirmed him in the said legation of France, and afterwards made him cardinal and legate in Bologna. On his return to Rome he was appointed prefect of the segnatura of justice, a very honourable office, and an employment of high importance. Finally, in 1623, he attained to the pontificate by means of very crafty practices, in the place of Gregory XV, being then in his fifty-sixth year, and now he is going through the thirteenth year of his reign, to the displeasure of the whole court, to which, no less than to sovereigns, short pontificates are the most advantageous, for in these there is more regard paid to every one, there is

a greater abundance of favours, and the pontiffs do not proceed as if the papacy were an hereditary succession; the court, moreover, finds that in general there proceed more employment and better fortunes from the frequency of change.

"In every position, the pope always held a high opinion of himself, desiring to rule over others, and shewing contempt for the opinions of all. He seems now to proceed more liberally, since he finds himself in a position eminent above all others. He has great talent, but not sound judgment; talent, for in things that depend on himself alone, and which concern his person and house, he has always attained to the objects he has proposed to accomplish, without shrinking from those intrigues and artifices which are, indeed, entirely congenial to his nature, as was seen in his canvass for the papacy, during which he found means to reconcile in his own favour the two opposite factions of Borghese and Ludovisio, merely by making each believe him the enemy of the other. But in general affairs, wherein judgment is demanded, that the interests of the Apostolic See may be brought into harmony with those of other princes, the pope has been observed to be always deficient in it. This was made evident in the affair of the Valtelline, and in the war of Mantua, which would not have occurred if the pope had declared against the first innovator; in the loss of Mantua, attributed to the supplies received by the Germans from the Ecclesiastical States, and without which they must have raised the siege or perished; and in the act of conferring the prefecture of Rome on his nephew, thus depriving the Apostolic See of the presence of so many ministers of foreign princes, who form its finest ornament, while he burdened the nephew himself with a load of envy, vexations, and cares, the post, too, being absolutely untenable after the death of the pontiff. A further proof of his want of judgment may be found in the unworthy mode of treatment adopted towards the ambassador of your serenity, my predecessor, in suffering him to depart without satisfaction; as also in the last joint protection of France, first advised and consented to through Cardinal Antonio, his nephew, then retracted and forbidden, with a manifestation

of excessive artifice, not to say deceit, which was evident to the whole world, and to the production of a division in his own house. I say nothing of the great injury received by the Catholic religion in Flanders and Germany under the present pontificate; the perils caused to Italy by his refusal of dispensation to the duke of Mantua, and still more by the pope's having conducted himself in a manner that has disgusted all princes, great and small, to such an extent that no one of them is friendly towards him, so that he is rendered incapable of exercising towards them those offices of authority and of paternal advice by which they might have been pacified and drawn together for the defence of religion; yet these offices have always been so carefully exercised by previous pontiffs and considered so peculiarly their own, that to maintain their title of common father, whence proceeds all the veneration professed for them, and to preserve union among the Christian princes, which is to them the source of great authority, they have exposed themselves to many hazards, journeyings, and perils, their name of father excusing them from attention to those punctilios which serve as so effectual an impediment to the intervention of other princes.

"The present pope has always professed to be neutral, making it his glory that he has enriched and aggrandized his house without bargaining for domains in the kingdom of Naples, or submitting to receive favours from great princes. His secret inclinations are, nevertheless, towards the French; their promptitude and determined boldness being most congenial to the character of his holiness, as was manifested by the great demonstrations he made when La Rochelle was taken. He recommended peace with the English, that France might hasten to the aid of Casale, then besieged by the Spaniards; advising the French at the same time to seize and retain Pinarolo for the requisite preservation of an equilibrium in Italy. He constantly discovered pretexts for deferring or diminishing the succours required by Germany, so that an opinion prevailed, and still exists, that his holiness was grieved for the death of the king of Sweden, and that he rejoices more, or rather fears less, for the progress of the Protestants, than that of the Austrians.

It is also generally believed, that even though the pope should be led to some union with the Spaniards by Cardinal Barberini, who is altogether Spanish, it would most probably terminate in a rupture more decided than ever. And the cause is this; that as the pope proceeds by artifice and intrigue, and believes that the Spaniards do the same, there must always be more apprehension of mutual deceptions between them than of the confidence proper to a sincere union."

It is not necessary to repeat the description of the nephews given by Aluise Contarini. Even Francesco Barberini, although most of all beloved by the pope, and completely devoted to business, was yet entirely dependent on his uncle. "There has never been a papal nephew more assiduous in the labours of the state than he; he never permits himself to take the slightest recreation; but it is also true that none has ever effected less than he has."

Contarini declines all description of the cardinals, remarking that a confirmed hypocrisy prevailed through the whole body. "One cardinal, though in perfect health, will make pretence, to facilitate his path to the papal throne, of being most infirm; tottering in his walk, coughing at every word; and if he stir abroad, it is only close shut in his litter. Another, being an able statesman, will nevertheless pretend to be averse from and ignorant of all business; while others talk, he is dumb; if questions are asked, he shrugs his shoulders; or if he reply, it is only in general terms." One might be tempted to believe that we have here the original of the fable invented with respect to the elevation of Sixtus V.

Next comes the third part; and this describes political relations. It is full of the most acute, impressive, and animated observation; and as we have said, is for us the most valuable part of the report.

However well disposed to the French Pope Urban might be, he did not always comply with their requests as regarded ecclesiastical affairs. "It must however be confessed that they have required very difficult concessions; such, for example, as the right of nominating to the abbeys of Lorraine, the annulling of the marriages of Duke Charles of Lorraine, and of Monsieur, with others of similar

character." Neither was Francesco Barberini so well disposed to the French party as his uncle: but though the French no longer hoped for any express declaration in their favour, they also knew that the pope would not act against them. Even this was a great advantage for their side, since being considered favourable to France, the opposite party did not trust him.

But all the more dissatisfied were the Spaniards. They reproached Cardinal Borgia for having permitted Urban VIII to be elected; and it was affirmed that this cardinal had been won over to do so only by the promise of manifold favours. In the negotiations relative to the Valtelline, in the general policy of the French, and in the position maintained by Bavaria, the Spaniards affirm that the influence of Urban's disinclination might be constantly perceived. Barberini, on the other hand, maintained that the concessions he had made to Spain had been met by no acknowledgment from them. It is obvious that the misunderstanding was mutual.

Contarini discusses the relations of Rome to Venice more fully than all besides. He considers the difficulties between them to arise chiefly from this; that whereas other states were either feared by Rome as more powerful than herself, or neglected by her as less powerful, Venice was regarded and treated as an equal.

It was already a source of displeasure to Rome that the English and Dutch should enjoy certain immunities in Venice. But if once the temporal jurisdiction presumed to lay hands on the person of an ecclesiastic, a general storm immediately arose.

The ambassador is nevertheless of opinion that the Venetians must not permit themselves to be trifled with. The nuncio was enjoined to maintain the most friendly relations with all such Venetian priests as were favourites with the people, and had the largest number of penitents to confess. "And your excellencies may rest assured that by means of such men, the nuncios contrive to extract the very marrow of all secrets." So much the more needful was it that the republic should in no case relinquish her authority over them.

In addition to all this, there were moreover continual disputes about the boundaries. Urban VIII was in no respect to be regarded as the promoter of Venetian interests. He was in particular disposed to advance Ancona to the prejudice of Venice.

No. 116

Discorso della malattia e morte del Card^le Ippolyto Aldobrandino, camerlengo di S^ta Chiesa col fine della grandezza del Papa Clemente VIII. 1638. [Account of the illness and death of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, chamberlain of the holy church, and of the close of the greatness of Pope Clement VIII.]

An extraordinary impression was produced in Rome by the sudden downfall of the Aldobrandini family, which had been so lately founded.

It was under the influence of this impression that the little work before us was written. "E stato superato dalla morte quel gran ingegno!" it begins. Of the whole house, the daughter of Giovanni Giorgio Aldobrandini alone remained,—and would necessarily inherit incalculable riches.

The state of society in Rome is not badly depicted in the following passage. "Il marchese Lodovico Lanti, il conte Gio. Francesco da Bagni, Berlingieri Gessi e Bernardino Biscia, aspettando tutti quattro a gara il pontificato de' loro zii, ambivano le nozze della principessa Aldobrandina." In the prospect of their uncle's elevation to the papacy, the nephews-presumptive were struggling for the hand of the richest heiress.

But neither the marriage they sought, nor the power of "the nephew," was to be attained by any one of them.

Olimpia married a Borghese. Our author is in the utmost astonishment at this, because Paul V had persecuted the Aldobrandini, and had imprisoned the father of Olimpia himself, yet now she gives her hand to his great-nephew.

In later life, however, as we know, she did in fact fall to the lot of a nephew to the reigning pontiff, Innocent X,

to whom she was destined by the circumstances and interests of the Roman court.

No. 117

Relatione di q. Zuanne Nani K^r Proc^r ritornato di ambasciatore estraordinario di Roma, 1641, 10 *Luglio*. [Report of Zuanne Nani, on returning from his embassy extraordinary to Rome.] Arch. Ven.

Disagreements of various kinds were continually arising between Rome and Venice; in the year 1635, there occurred one of the most extraordinary kind.

A magnificent inscription in pompous terms, had been erected in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, by Pius IV, to record an achievement of the Venetians on which they prided themselves greatly, and which made a splendid figure in their annals, a victory, namely, gained over Frederick Barbarossa, and by which, as they affirmed, they had saved Alexander III from destruction.

But the terms of this inscription had gradually come to be thought unwarrantable in Rome. That the phrase, "Pontifici Venetae reipublicae beneficio sua dignitas restituta," should be exhibited, was held by the constantly increasing rigour of orthodoxy to be a kind of affront. The spirit of contention for rank then ruling the world, seized on this long past and almost forgotten incident, and the truth of the narration, as it appears in Venetian writers of history, began moreover to be generally called in question. Disputants appeared in print on both sides of the question.

This is a question that even to the present day has been more than once revived.

I cannot believe that any one possessing the slightest notion of historical examination and criticism can remain doubtful respecting it.

But however that may be, it was at all events not historical conviction alone, but political jealousy in addition, that induced Urban VIII first to alter that inscription, and finally to erase it altogether.

It was in the same light that the matter was viewed by

the Republic; the disputes respecting the boundaries, and those concerning the precedence of the new prefect becoming daily more embittered, Venice, for some time, sent no regular ambassador to Rome.

Accordingly, Nani, who went thither in the year 1638, was only ambassador extraordinary. He remained nevertheless nearly three years and a half, and his report shews that he had acquired a considerable acquaintance with the court.

The chief purpose of his mission was to prevail on the pope to support the Republic in case of her being attacked by the Turks, which at that time seemed highly probable.

It is an extraordinary fact, that this request came at a moment which made it particularly acceptable to the pope. He could oppose this necessity of the Republic to the perpetual demands of the house of Austria, then so hardly pressed by the Protestants and the French.

The ambassador would glady have moved him to a mediation also between the belligerent powers; but the pope did not enjoy the general confidence indispensable to such an attempt. "Pullulando tante amarezze colle corone, restava fiacca, per non dir quasi odiosa, l'autorità del pontefice."

This ambassador also remarks the inclination of Urban to make a display of military force. Whoever desired to stand well with him must turn the conversation to his fortresses; to which he frequently alluded himself. He even declared that he could bring together more than 20,000 men within the space of twenty days. He further enumerated the treasure that he possessed. For immediate necessities he had laid by 400,000 scudi, and it was believed that of the five millions left by Sixtus V, three still remained in the Castle of St. Angelo.

Let us now observe in what manner Nani describes the person and mode of administration adopted by Urban VIII.

"The pontiff is in the beginning of the 73rd year of his age, and at the close of the 17th of his pontificate; no pope has enjoyed so long a period of government for a space of 324 years. He is robust and vigorous, and is gratified at being so considered; indeed, if we except occasional attacks of internal disorders to which he appears subject, his constitution and health are such that he may still last for many

years. He adopts the most useful measures for the preservation of his health, and as he now feels himself becoming older, he applies less to business, with regard to which, however, he has rarely inflicted on himself more labour than was pleasant to him. The morning is passed in giving audience and other affairs, the afternoon is reserved for rest and conversation with those of his immediate circle, in which he is cheerful and facetious, as in more important discourse he is learned and eloquent. Even while giving audience, he willingly passes from the matter in negotiation, to subjects of an interesting or learned character, to which he is much devoted. He possesses great talents and great qualities, has a wonderful memory, with courage and energy that sometimes render him too firmly fixed to his own ideas. He has extensive powers of intellect, increased by experience of government and the world. He thinks very highly of his own opinion, and therefore does not love taking counsel, nor does he much regard the qualities of his ministers, who might nevertheless give increased force to his measures. He is not much disposed to confer favours, and is of hasty temper; so that even with the ministers of sovereign princes, he cannot always dissemble his impetuosity. He likes to be treated with address and suavity, and if there be any method by which the mind of his holiness can be diverted from its determination, it is by this alone; or if one cannot always succeed by it, there is in any case one good result, that if he will not yield, at least he does not break off in anger.

"It were much to be desired that the present government had a more extensive and more efficient 'Consulta;' because, where discussion is wanting, reason will sometimes be wanting likewise; and it is certain that the ministers are but few, and still fewer are those who have any authority or weight at the palace. With the pontiff himself, no one is known to have influence, and his holiness places his own opinion above that of all: the others are wont either to applaud, or at least conform to it. In former times it was usual for the pope to have three or four cardinals near his person, with whom all more important affairs were discussed before they were determined on, and it was then held to be part of the nephews' secret policy to introduce their

own dependents into the confidence of their uncle, to the end that these might lead or win him over on occasions where they could not themselves appear, or did not wish to reveal their inclinations.

"Barberini has not chosen to circumvent the freedom of the pope in this manner, but reserving to himself exclusively the place immediately next the ear of his holiness, he compels all others to remain at a distance, and to submit their own opinions to his sole judgment, not seeming pleased that any should speak to the pope on business without having first communicated with himself. Yet he does not avail himself of this authority, which he alone enjoys, with that liberty which might perhaps be advantageous to the public good, and to his own interests; so that, not daring to lift a breath against the resolutions or opinions of the pope, he frequently assumes the appearance of being equally obstinate with his holiness himself, and by this means has subjected himself to the displeasure of kings and other sovereigns, with the dislike of their ministers, for not diverting or preventing many strange and disagreeable occurrences.

"Under the pontificate of the present pope, the cardinals complain accordingly, more particularly those created by him, of not being treated with openness or confidence. The cardinal-nephew employs the services of very few ministers, while the vast amount of business and other causes might seem to make him require many. Pancirolo and Bicchi, auditors of the Rota, are those most admitted to his intimacy and most frequently employed.

"Pancirolo is a man of advanced age and great experience; he was employed in Piedmont respecting the peace, even from the time when the wars of Mantua commenced. He is employed in affairs connected with the administration of the Papal States, and as I have not had to transact any business with him, I have nothing to relate concerning his personal qualities.

"Bicchi is a man of high character, prompt and sagacious; he directs almost all affairs with foreign princes, and has more particularly the management of those pertaining to the Republic. He is entirely dependent on Barberini, a circumstance which renders him particularly acceptable to

the cardinal; he has encountered many vexations from some of the foreign ministers, but is upon the whole greatly liked. He has no other experience than that derived from his present employment, which is an important one; my business has always been transacted with him, and your excellencies will remember to have seen him frequently described in my letters, as well as in his official documents. In the management of affairs, he displays address and coolness, with equal ability and diligence. He speaks of the most serene Republic with all possible expressions of reverence and devotion. He has it much at heart to secure a certain matter touching the pensions of the cardinal his brother, respecting which I have written at other times.

"To these I will add Monsignor Cecca, secretary of state, because he is at present assisting in the negotiations of the league. He has not more than ordinary talent, but from long experience in his office, has a competent knowledge of business. He is considerably advanced in years, and is believed to be near to the cardinalate; though not greatly beloved by the nephews, he is much respected on account of the regard borne to him by his holiness. When the present pontiff was nuncio at the court of France, Cecca was in the service of his secretary, and by a marvellous change of fortune, yet one not uncommon in the Roman court, he stepped into the place of his master, who is still living in no very prosperous circumstances, while Cecca enjoys an important office with good revenues, and has prospects of more than common advancement. There are none beside in the circle of Barberini possessing either credit or talents to merit observation.

"For the government of the state, there is a 'Consulta' of cardinals and prelates, which meets for the discussion of various matters twice in each week. The other congregations are those of the Inquisition, of 'Propaganda Fide,' of the Council, of the regular clergy, of ceremonial rites, and other interests of a similar character. But the whole affair resolves itself into mere talk, because the decision rests entirely with his holiness and the nephew. A congregation of state is held from time to time in the presence of the pope, for purposes of high importance; but none take part

in these councils excepting the cardinals created by himself or others in his confidence, or who have served in nunciatures. Even this, too, serves rather for the ratification of decisions than for the determination of them by discussion, because nothing is deliberated on, or presented as a decree, except in conformity with the opinion either expressed or suffered to be understood as that of his holiness; and indeed the pontiffs are wont to complain that they have not any one in whom they may confide, all the cardinals living with their eyes turned on those foreign princes with whom their interests are connected."

No. 118

Racconto delle cose più considerabili che sono occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di Monsr Gio. Batt. Spada.
[Relation of the most important events that have taken place in the government of Rome during the time of Monsignor Gio. Battista Spada.]

Respecting the latter days of Urban VIII, replete with pictures of life and manner, more especially of circumstances falling within the department of justice and the police of the States, and recorded with unquestionable authenticity.

We find the old contentions still prevailing among the ancient families of Rome, between the Gaetani and Colonna for example; not only was it difficult to effect any agreement between them, but many days were required even for drawing up a document, wherein the requisite history of their quarrels should be related in such a manner that one or the other would not feel insulted.

Disputes were also frequent between the French and Spaniards. They would meet for example in taverns, each drank to the health of his own sovereign, offence was soon taken; but the weaker party remained moderately quiet, until being reinforced, it could meet its opponent on equal ground; then, assembling on the public places of the city, they would come to blows, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that the bargello could separate them.

But although thus divided among themselves, they all do their best to oppose the court, and rival each other in resistance to the policy of Rome.

The ambassadors were especially difficult to manage; they gradually set up those pretensions which were subsequently the cause of so many serious disputes. They not only declared their palaces to be sanctuaries and free, permitting unlawful games to be established in them; but they even claimed the right of extending their protection to the neighbouring houses. Monsignor Spada naturally opposed these pretensions. "For if so much courtesy had been extended to the lords ambassadors that none should enter their houses or families, the extent to which they now desired to carry the matter was too great, being no less than that no execution should be permitted in the neighbouring houses, or even in the same cluster of buildings (isola)."

Historically considered, the most important incidents here described are two attempts on the life of Urban VIII, which are given with the most satisfactory authenticity.

1. "Concerning the trial of Giacinto Centini, nephew of Cardinal d'Ascoli, and of certain of his accomplices.—The substance was to this effect: it having been prognosticated that the cardinal would succeed to the present pontiff, Giacinto Centini, led away by this prophecy, and desiring to see it instantly fulfilled, had formed a compact with Fra Serafino Cherubini da Ancona, a Minorite; Fra Pietro da Palermo, an Eremite, who assumed the name of Fra Bernardino; and Fra Domenico da Fermo, an Augustinian, for the purpose of seeking to shorten the life of our lord the pope by diabolic acts; and to that effect it was resolved to make a figure of wax, representing the pope, which was executed; and after many invocations of demons, and sacrifices offered to the same, this was melted, destroyed, and consumed at the fire, with the firm belief that the said figure being so consumed, the life of Pope Urban must terminate with it, and thus make way for the succession of Cardinal d'Ascoli, uncle of Giacinto."

2. "The confession of Tomaso Orsolini da Recanate.—That by the instigation of Fra Domenico Brancaccio da

Bagnarea, an Augustinian, he had gone to Naples for the purpose of making a pretended discovery to the viceroy of a supposed agreement among the princes for the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, wherein his holiness also was to take part, and the remedy proposed was, that either the pope or one of the confederates was to be put to death. This the aforesaid Father Bagnarea offered to do himself, provided they would furnish him with 3,000 scudi, which he would give to the sacristan of his holiness, who was now become incapable of labour; when he, Bagnarea, having succeeded to that office, would have put poison into the host, which his holiness would have to consecrate in the mass; or otherwise, if he could not succeed in becoming sacristan, he would have contrived that the apothecary Carcurasio, his relative, should poison the medicaments applied to the setons of his holiness; but he did not proceed to the extent of describing all this to the viceroy, because, having intimated to him that the pope must be put to death, he saw that the viceroy did not entertain that proposal."

No. 119

Historica relatione dell' origine e progressi delle rotture nate tra la casa Barberina et Odoardo Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza. [Historical relation of the origin and progress of the disputes between the house of Barberini and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza.] Vienna Library. Historia Prof. N. 899. 224 leaves.

This is the work of a partisan, given in the form of a letter, in which the origin of these contentions is wholly attributed to the ill-will of the Barberini. The monti of the barons are connected by this author, as well as others, with those of the state. The pope readily granted the necessary permissions, because he thus rendered the barons more subservient to himself. ("Nella erettione di simili monti il principe era mallevadore, riservatosi il beneplacito di poterne dimandare l'estintione a suo piacimento.")

I do not find that this work, although voluminous, makes

any important disclosures; and since we are not in this case in any want of information, it has no great value. The most remarkable part of it is, without doubt, the description of Pope Urban's anti-Austrian, and in a certain sense anti-Catholic tendencies.

"He would sometimes give it to be understood, that though the progress made by the Catholics against the heretics was very pleasing to him, yet that there was cause to fear lest this prosperity should some day turn to their injury, by the jealousies that would be excited throughout the world, lest the empire should absorb the last remaining vestige of liberty. A report was current in all the courts that to Urban were to be ascribed those suspicions of Duke Maximilian, which caused a great schism in the union of Catholic princes, who were exposed to the chances of reactions, for they supposed that when once the heretics were subdued, the arms of Austria would be turned to the injury of those who had been ministers to the greatness of that house; and to say all, there were some who in those days boasted of knowing that the mission of Ceva, the confidential minister of the house of Barberini, sent into France with the title of nuncio extraordinary, had received in the most profound concealment a secret command to excite the French king to mingle in the commotions of Germany, to the end that, acting in concert with Bavaria, he might devise a method for raising up some barrier against the increasing power of the house of Austria."

This proves at least that such views were prevalent at the time.

No. 120

Della vita di Papa Urbano VIII e historia del suo pontificato, scritta da Andrea Nicoletti. [The life of Pope Urban VIII and history of his pontificate, by Andrea Nicoletti.] 8 volumes in folio MS.

It is much to be regretted that there are so few good, or even available biographies of the persons most eminent in history.

The cause of this deficiency must not be ascribed to indifference to their memory; this was, indeed, most commonly very highly estimated, if not overrated, by those connected with them; it may be attributed to the following cause:—

At first, when the remembrance is still fresh, and materials might readily be gathered, certain scruples are felt with regard to contemporaries; the whole truth is not told; a multitude of individuals would be compromised, and numberless animosities called forth against the subject of the memoir himself.

At a later period, and when contemporaries also have disappeared, when courage might be found for speaking, the memory of the hero has also become faint, the materials are scattered, the interest itself has declined, and awakens only in the minds of those who desire to investigate the facts for historical purposes.

In this state of things, the following expedient was frequently adopted in Italy.

The materials existing were handed over to some trusted friend or servant of the house, who being well and personally informed of the general facts, then placed them together, arranged them duly, and formed them into a connected narrative; yet this was not intended for the press, it was preserved in MS. among the family annals.

In this manner the susceptibilities of the contemporary were spared; while yet the possibility was retained of reviving the rapidly fading memory at some future time, and presenting it in all the fulness of truth.

To this class of works belongs the biography of Andrea Nicoletti.

It contains the recollections of the Barberini family respecting the personal character and various transactions of Urban VIII. But the mass of the work, and that which gives the volume its bulk, is the collected correspondence, of which all is inserted, of the ambassadors belonging to the twenty-one years of Urban's pontificate.

This biography is, in fact, essentially formed of a compilation of the despatches from the different nunciatures.

It contains not the final reports, the "relationi," properly

so called, but the despatches themselves, as was most fitting to a biography. The pope constantly appears in this work as himself directing, determining, and acting.

I have observed that similar compilations were attempted in Venice; but as the active proceedings of the republic do not appear, and only the mass of the reports presented is placed before us, without any of their effects becoming apparent, the attention very soon becomes distracted and wearied.

In the work of Nicoletti the case is totally different; the vocation of the papacy, the complicated political position of Urban VIII, the immediate bearing of each report on some important circumstance of general history,—all tend to produce unity of purpose, and awaken interest.

It is obvious that the notices here presented in relation to the period of the thirty years' war must needs have especial importance; and in fact they throw light on it at every point.

It must be allowed, that where the author attempts a judgment, or relates a fact from his own authority, we cannot follow him altogether without reserve. Here and there he may probably have been unable to procure authentic information; the official complexion is not to be concealed, even in the origin and first conception of such a work. I will cite but one example. In the 3rd volume of his work, p. 673, Nicoletti affirms that Urban VIII had heard of the conclusion of peace between France and England with much bitter grief ("il rammarico fu acerbissimo"), while from Aluise Contarini, who took a personal share in all the negotiations, we learn that the pope had even advised those negotiations and that conclusion. The error of Nicoletti proceeds from the fact, that amidst the enormous accumulation of correspondence before him, this notice had escaped his observation, and that he judged the pope according to his own idea of what was demanded of Urban's ecclesiastical position. Many similar instances occur, but these do not prevent us from believing the author where he merely gives extracts.

It is the practice of Nicoletti to insert the papers in their whole extent, with such changes only as are demanded

by the form of narrative. The utmost deviation that he can have made is to misplace certain particulars, or omit certain documents. Yet, from the nature of his charge, which merely consisted in arranging the papers given him, and from the character of the work, which was not intended for the public, this was not to be anticipated, nor have I found any trace of its being done.

Although I have proceeded diligently through all these volumes, and have not neglected the opportunity of making myself acquainted with historical materials of so much importance, it would nevertheless be impossible to give a more minute account of them in this place. Whoever has occupied himself with the examination of correspondence will remember how much he has been compelled to read before attaining to a clear perception of any one fact. For materials so diffuse, I cannot find space in this work.

There follows, however, the description of the last moments of Urban VIII, which is highly remarkable; as also of his personal character, as Nicoletti conceived it.

Volume viii., near the close:—"In those days (towards the end of June) the heat in Rome was excessive, and even much more perilous than common; nevertheless, the pope believing himself to be somewhat recovered from his malady, and knowing that seventeen churches were without their bishops, while Cardinal Grimaldi, who had returned from the nunciature of France, had not received his cardinal's hat, declared that he would hold a consistory on the approaching Monday. Cardinal Barberini thought that he might also induce him to complete the promotion of some cardinals; for which cause he did not oppose his purpose by representing his dangerous state of weakness, and the slow fever that might be redoubled by that exertion, but rather applauded his intention and encouraged him, as though he had been in good health. The report of the intended consistory getting about, while some believed the pope to be dying, and others that he was dead, but that his death was kept concealed for some days, the greater part of Rome was seen to be alarmed, although all put on glad looks and pretended to rejoice at the restoration of the pontiff's health. But Cardinal Barberini perceiving afterwards that

the pope would not proceed to the promotion of any cardinal, although eight were wanting to the sacred college, either because he was not satisfied with the persons proposed to him, or because he desired to leave that office to his successor, then made an earnest attempt to dissuade him by powerful reasons and pressing entreaties from holding the consistory at that time; and he laboured all the more eagerly because he saw that, besides the probable injury to the pope, he should himself be discredited and lose in the general esteem, since the cardinals of his proposing not being promoted, the report universally prevailing of his having lost favour with the pope on account of the wars would receive confirmation, and the opinion that if Urban's life were prolonged, Cardinal Antonio would obtain the supremacy, would be strengthened. The pontiff not being moved by these arguments and prayers, Monsignor Roscioli, knowing that he should oblige Cardinal Barberini, and help to preserve the life of his holiness by dissuading him from the said resolution, and confiding in the good-will of the pope towards himself, determined to adopt every means, even using the names of the cardinals and of the whole city, to prevail on him for the abandonment of that consistory. Having taking therefore a befitting opportunity, he entered the apartments of the pope, and kneeling before him, declared that he did not propose to supplicate him in the name of his ministers, nor on the part of his nephews, or of the house of Barberini, but of the whole city of Rome; for that his holiness, having been chosen for the welfare of the nations, and for the safety of the Church, when abandoning the care of his own person by exposing himself, while still weak, to the danger of accident, abandoned at the same time the whole city and the government committed to him by the Church, to the extreme grief of all: that his welfare or peril was of more consequence to Christendom in general than to the house of Barberini, or to his holiness himself; and that, therefore, if he would not defer the fatigue of that consistory at the prayers of his nephews, he should do so at least for the entreaties of all Rome, which implored him to comply. The pope, after reflecting for a time, replied that he did not desire to prolong his life

further, knowing that the pontificate was a burden no longer suited to his strength, and that God would provide for his Church. After this reply, having remained silent for a time, Monsignor Roscioli perceived that the pope had his eyes full of tears, and raising them to heaven with sighs, he burst into fervent prayers to God, imploring the Divine Majesty to release him from this present life, wherewith he seemed to be grievously wearied.

"The Monday appointed for holding the consistory having arrived, a vast multitude of people assembled at the palace, curious to see the pope, whom but shortly before they had believed dead. Scarcely had he entered, before the cardinals perceived that his life was indeed approaching the end, for he looked languid and pale, and had almost lost the power of utterance; towards the end of the consistory more particularly he appeared to have become almost insensible. This was attributed to the excessive heat of the season, increased by the crowd of people who had found their way in; but neither did the ministers nearest to the pope's person, nor Cardinal Barberini himself, escape reproach for not having prevented the pontiff from exposing himself to that fatiguing office, the people not knowing the efforts that had been made to divert him from this purpose: for any one seeing him in that state of suffering and weakness, would have been moved to pity, since it was manifest that the malady had shaken his mind and deprived him of all sound judgment respecting the affairs before him. After the propositions concerning the churches had been made, and after having given the hat to Cardinal Grimaldi, he left the consistory with his disorder greatly aggravated, as had been foretold.

"On the following day he performed an action by which he acquired the fame of great piety, and which is worthy of record as an example to all ecclesiastical princes. This was to summon before him certain theologians, who were very eminent in that science, and also for probity, being besides considered by the pope to be incapable of adulation. To these divines he first caused a full statement to be given of all the ecclesiastical estates and revenues wherewith he had enriched the house of Barberini during the time of his

pontificate, commanding them to declare whether he had in anywise exceeded his power and authority; since he was prepared to take back from his nephews whatever might burden his conscience before the tribunal of God. The theologians were Cardinal de Lugo, Father Torquato de Lupis, of the Society of Jesus, and some others. And the pope was encouraged to this act by the serenity he perceived on the countenance of Cardinal Barberini, when having summoned him first of all, he made him acquainted with his purpose; so that, notwithstanding the late shadows of doubt between them, he seemed almost disposed to take his advice on the subject. The cardinal applauded the piety of his holiness, and shewed particular satisfaction respecting that intention, hoping still greater blessings from the most bountiful hand of God, since all this was to be done solely for the satisfaction of the Divine Majesty. It is said that the unanimous opinion of the theologians was this; that his holiness, having enriched his nephews, might with a safe conscience permit them to enjoy all the wealth he had conferred on them, and that for two reasons: First, that having promoted many persons to the cardinalate without having provided them with revenues suitable to their position, the nephews would thus be in a condition to supply them according to their need. The other reason why the conscience of the pope should be tranquil was, that the nephews aforesaid having in that long reign, and during the wars, incurred the hatred and hostility of various princes, it was reasonable that they should be left in a condition to defend themselves and maintain their rank: it was even necessary to the credit of the Apostolic See that they should not be contemned, as frequently happens to those who are reduced from an eminent position to an inferior one: thus the being well provided with riches and with the goods of fortune, would but tend to make them more respected: besides which, the said nephews were by nature endowed with so much Christian charity, that they would apply those revenues to the benefit of the poor and for other pious uses. By these and similar reasonings the pontiff appeared to be tranquillized.

"He proceeded then to prepare for death, which he felt

in himself to be approaching; but amidst these thoughts and dispositions he yet shewed himself in all his conversations to be full of a just anger against the princes of Italy; feeling a deep grief that it must remain recorded of his pontificate how those potentates had leagued themselves against him, and had assailed the States of the Church with their armies. For this cause he sometimes broke out into bitter reproaches against them, as men without piety, without religion, and without laws; imploring the just vengeance of heaven, that he might live to see them punished, or at least repentant. Peace had already been concluded with them, as has been said elsewhere, being ratified and signed by his holiness; but in this the two cardinals Barberini were not included or named; whence their more faithful adherents were of opinion that while—on account of the life of the pope—the house of Barberini was still feared, all possible efforts should be made to have the said cardinals declared parties to and included in that peace, by the Italian princes. And Cardinal Bicchi, who went as plenipotentiary to those princes on the part of France, affirmed that, not being assured of the pope's death, they would shew no reluctance to negotiate and accept that treaty: but Cardinal Barberini forbade the attempt in express terms, commanding Bicchi to do nothing whatever in that behalf, even though the princes should of themselves propose the arrangement; nor would he listen to any counsels on that head, alleging as a reason, that the desire to be included and named in the articles of peace was no other than an admission on their parts that they were the authors and promoters of the war, to say nothing of the fact that it was not usual to name the ministers or agents in treaties of peace, but only the princes and chiefs who had taken part in the war.

"At that time there were, as we have said, eight vacancies in the sacred college of cardinals, for which cause, there was infinite agitation at court, so great a number being capable of occasioning no small change in the position of the established factions. The pope, as Cardinal Barberini frequently remarked to us, desired that the cardinals should possess a greater extent of influence and more abundant

revenues, wherefore he proposed to reduce the sacred college, by an especial 'constitution,' to the number of fifty, for which reason it was that he had decided to make no further promotions. Barberini, however, knowing that the pope would not attain his purpose by leaving so many vacancies, but would confer great benefit on the faction of his successor, entreated him continually to yield to the general opinion, and promote as many persons as were then worthy of the purple; but all their efforts were vain; the pope replied, that he would not put it in the power of any of his successors to quote his example for creating cardinals at the close of life, thus privately and indecorously, even on his death-bed; that he had received an example from Gregory XV, which he desired to transmit with equal glory to his successors. Other personages then laboured to move him, more particularly Cardinal de Lugo, who sought to enforce the arguments of Cardinal Barberini by suggesting that the pope might confirm the consistorial decree of the three cardinals already elected, which had been drawn up after the consistory in which the last promotion had taken place; he affirmed that Cardinal Barberini, as vice-chancellor, was bound to lay this before his holiness, not that he might promote, as was the case of Gregory, but merely that he might declare the cardinals already created and reserved 'in petto,' an announcement which appeared reasonable to all the sacred college, and for which no new consistory was required. But the pontiff, either because he was displeased with Cardinal Barberini for having proposed persons not agreeable to his holiness, or that he believed he should thus have a more glorious memory, remained immovable to all entreaty, commanding that none should venture again to speak to him of promotion.

"The aspect of Pope Urban was extremely cheerful, yet full of majesty. There was a certain melancholy in his temperament, so that when it was necessary to bleed him, which usually occurred in the spring, there proceeded from his veins small particles, as if congealed by that humour. Nor without this could he have made so much progress in letters, since philosophers tell us that melancholy contributes to facilitate the acquisition of the sciences, and to their

retention in the mind. The proportions of his body and limbs were nobly adjusted; his stature rather tall, his complexion olive, his figure rather muscular than fat. His head was large, giving evidence of a wonderful intellect and a most tenacious memory. His forehead was ample and serene, the colour of his eyes a light blue, the nose well proportioned, the cheeks round, but in his latter years greatly attenuated; his mouth was full of grace, his voice sonorous and very agreeable, so that with the Tuscan idiom which he retained all his life, there proceeded from those lips the sweetest words, full of eloquence, adorned with flowers of polite learning, of sacred letters, and of ancient examples. From the time of his elevation to the prelacy he wore his beard of a moderate length and square form, and this, with his grey hair, gave him an extremely venerable aspect. He was in truth so amiable, that, with the exception of a too great openness—unless when restrained by the importance of the matter in hand—there was no fault that the most observant critics could blame in him. And if he was sometimes excited to anger, he soon returned to his previous good humour. It was the opinion of sagacious persons, that with Pope Urban it was necessary to be profoundly learned, or else to possess little, perhaps no learning; for as he did not disdain to be won over by the acquirements of the speaker in the one case, so in the other he so greatly compassionated the condition of the person, that he would himself assist and console him: but this always supposes that the latter was not presuming or arrogant, abusing the humanity and good disposition of the pope, who was ever most harsh and inflexible towards the proud and arrogant, as he was gentle and benevolent towards the respectful and modest. . . . He was most considerate towards his aforesaid servants, and towards his own relations, choosing such times for employing them as were regulated rather by their convenience than by his own: nor did he disdain occasionally to listen with patience to expressions of feeling or of complaint from them. In his maladies also, he seemed to grieve more for the vigils and fatigues of his attendants, than for his own illness and pains. He was not, indeed, very patient of clamours and loud lamentations, but

he disliked to refuse or to see any one leave him dissatisfied. He was most cheerful and pleasant with his more confidential servants, and would sometimes jest with them and indulge in witticisms. . . . He never forgot his old friends, even when absent or dead, and his benevolence, in this respect, was admirable, whence he commanded Cardinal Biscia, a cardinal of his own creation, and one of those in whom he most confided, that he should be careful to give him frequent intelligence of them; and if they were dead, that note should be taken of their descendants, to the end that they might be provided for as opportunity should offer.

"There was the utmost plenty of all things in Rome during this pontificate, and the pope was accustomed to say that he had derived his birth from Florence, but had received all his greatness from Rome. He desired that every one should enjoy the prosperity of his pontificate,—that the saleable offices of the chancery should produce large gains to their purchasers: thus he was most liberal in transacting the affairs of the dataria; he wished that the artisans should make large profits at their trades, but lawfully, and without fraud; to merchants of all sorts he was equally favourable, —whence it followed that money circulated so freely during his pontificate, as to make all persons, of whatever profession, content and satisfied. He gave especial orders for the supply of corn, and endured the expense willingly in consideration of the abundance maintained. His greatest enjoyment was to know that the husbandman was not deprived of those gains which he considered that the risk of life and means incurred by those who toiled on the vast extent of the Campagna, and were exposed to its insalubrious air, merited: then, when it appeared to him that the sea-coast was principally useful for agriculture, he turned his thoughts in that direction, and frequently talked of draining the Pontine Marshes, to recover those immense districts now under water, and that entirely for the public benefit: but other cares would not permit him to enjoy the completion of so glorious a design. Neither would he permit that the price of grain or other food should be fixed; but to maintain the abundance aforesaid, he would have all free, thus preventing monopoly. Hence, the merchants, filling their granaries,

vied with each other in selling cheaply, and the city of Rome became rich.

"That literature should flourish during his pontificate cannot be matter of surprise, since he had no more agreeable recreation than the society of the learned, whom he always received with kindness and treated liberally. He was also a great lover of the other noble professions, as painting, sculpture, and the various fine arts, so that he did not disdain frequently to visit their professors; more especially one day, when going to visit the seven churches with all the sacred college, and having arrived at Santa Maria Maggiore, and offered his prayers in that basilica, he entered with the aforesaid train of cardinals into the house of the Cavaliere Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, which stood near, to examine certain renowned works of sculpture from his chisel.

"Having been compelled by various causes to impose many burdens and taxes, he was sometimes seen to weep over such measures, saying that he would willingly give his own blood or that of his kindred rather than hear of the afflictions suffered by the nations and by Rome, or the embarrassments of the apostolic treasury. And to Monsignor Lorenzo Raggi, treasurer of the same, who went to receive audience during his last illness, he said that he desired to live two months longer, but not more, and that for three reasons: first, that he might have a longer time for repentance and to seek the forgiveness of God for his sins; next, that he might complete the restoration to the castle of St. Angelo of all the money taken out of it for the war of Castro; and thirdly, that he might see the building of the walls enclosing the Borgo and Trastevere completed, and the city of Rome secured.

"If the heroic actions of the pope, from the weakness of my pen, shall be set forth without eloquence, without dignity of style, and, in fine, without due proportion to the worth of so great a pontiff, they have, nevertheless, been recorded with pure and sincere truth, which was particularly enjoined and inculcated by those who held supreme authority over me; that is to say, *that I should write simply as an historian, and should wholly abstain from all adulation and*

vanities, also from rhetorical amplifications, attending more to things than to words.

"But to consider his application to sacred matters, besides having caused the Roman ritual to be corrected and reprinted, he did not neglect to give many regulations for the pontifical chapel, although, either from the negligence of the ministers or from the pressure of other affairs, the principal things only have been retained and observed; and it is certain that he also reformed the use of indulgences, that he might close the mouths of the heretics.

"Finally, if Urban had not engaged in war,—or, to speak more exactly, if he had not been provoked and drawn into it by force, which even greatly hastened his death, there could not have been desired a pontiff more glorious, nor a sovereign of more exalted qualities, by means of which, for many years of his pontificate, he attached to himself the affection of all Christendom, so that to this day his memory is blessed by the nations for those happy years, during which they enjoyed tranquillity and peace."

SECTION VI

LATER EPOCHS

In the preceding section we have thrown together whatever has immediate reference to Urban VIII; there still remain some few writings which connect his times with those directly succeeding.

No. 121

Relatione della vita de Card^l Cecchini, composta da lui medesimo. [Life of Cardinal Cecchini, composed by himself.] Barberini Library, 275 pages.

These are personal memoirs, which do not throw much direct light on important matters of state, but which present a very interesting example of the life of an ecclesiastic; private, indeed, but always passed in the midst of important events, and under remarkable circumstances.

The author informs us that he composed these memoirs for his own gratification: "Tra tutte le cose che apportano all' uomo sommo piacere, una è la memoria delle cose passate."

Cecchini left Perugia for Rome in the year 1604, being then at the age of fifteen.

He had placed his hopes on the Aldobrandini family, with which he was remotely connected; but Clement VIII died too soon for his interests, and after his death the power of the Aldobrandini departed. It is true that Cecchini might have flattered himself that he had found a new source of hope, seeing that in Perugia he had formed an acquaintance with Scipione Caffarelli, the same who, under Paul V, contrived to make his position of nephew to the reigning pontiff so extensively advantageous; but Caffarelli did not

choose to remember this acquaintance, and the youth was compelled to seek protection elsewhere.

But it was then his good fortune to attach himself precisely to the two prelates who afterwards attained to the highest dignities, Ludovisio and Pamfili.

The opinion that Ludovisio would obtain the tiara very early prevailed in Rome. Thus when Ludovico, nephew of the cardinal, was admitted to the prelacy in 1619, many regarded him as the future "cardinal-padrone." All eyes were directed towards him; his friends and dependents were already labouring, each to supplant the other. Cecchini himself complains that some had attempted to displace him, but that he contrived to retain his position; he was even enabled to render his patron important services; being a kinsman of the Aldobrandini, he was in a condition to effect an alliance between the two houses. Cardinal Aldobrandini promised his vote to Ludovisio.

The requisite measures were soon taken with a view to Ludovisio's elevation. That cardinal long hesitated whether or not he should accept a pension of 1,200 scudi offered him by the Spaniards, after the conclusion of peace with Savoy; fearing lest he should incur the enmity of the French. Cecchini was called on to speak of this matter with the French ambassador, and remove from his mind all suspicions that might arise from that cause.

Under these circumstances, Cardinal Ludovisio came to the conclave held in Rome after the death of Paul V, already expecting to be chosen. Cecchini hastened to meet him. "I conduct the pope to Rome," he exclaimed in his joyous zeal. "We have but to be on our guard against the cardinal of Aquino," replied Ludovisio, "and all will be well." "Ludovisio aveva tal sicurezza del pontificato che domandommi per burla, chi saria stato papa: rispondendogli che il papa non era in Roma e che io l'avrei condotto, con gran fiducia mi soggiunse queste parole: 'Guardatemi del card^{l} d'Aquino, che faremo bene.'"

All succeeded according to their wishes. Ludovisio was really elected. The nephew embraced Cecchini for joy, and made him his auditor.

The latter was thus brought into contact with the supreme

power. He was not without a certain share in public business, or was at least admitted to the knowledge of affairs, but his most important occupation was still the arrangement of the cardinal's money matters; the revenues from Avignon and Fermo passed through his hands. The cardinal did not wish to have the exact sums that he expended made known, for he was in the highest degree magnificent in his habits. When Ludovisio became grand chamberlain, Cecchini was raised to be auditor of that office.

The most singular abuses are here brought to our notice. Certain orders, called "non gravetur," were issued in the name of the cardinal-nephew, and whoever possessed these was secured from arrest. People sought to defend themselves from their creditors by a "non gravetur;" there were even artisans who were thus protected. But our author relates things much worse than this. Under Pope Paul V a suit had been instituted against the Prior and Prince Aldobrandini. Cecchini declares that the fiscal-general employed false witnesses to obtain sentence of condemnation against them. It was not their death that was desired; the object proposed was to force the Aldobrandini into resigning certain castles and domains to the Borghese family. Under Gregory XV, the fiscal-general was imprisoned for this affair. "Pier Maria Cirocchi, who was fiscal-general under Paul V, was imprisoned by Gregory XV for many imputed crimes: among the chief of these was this, that in the criminal process instituted against the Prince and Prior Aldobrandini, in which they were condemned to suffer loss of life and goods, he had caused the examination of false witnesses, as without doubt he did; and the said sentence was pronounced for no other end than that of forcing Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to yield the castles of Montefortino and Olevano, which he had bought of the duke of Zagarolo, to Cardinal Borghese, in return for which, the said condemnation of the nephews was to be remitted; and he agreed to do it, they being also sent prisoners to the Castle of St. Angelo, where they remained four months." Acts of baseness that are hateful as they are atrocious,—the duty of the historian forbids him to be silent respecting them; but we must not fail to remark that

Cecchini was naturally an adherent of the Aldobrandini family.

On the death of Gregory XV, Urban VIII was elected pope. Cecchini had previously found an occasion for rendering him an important service, though it was only by remaining silent. In a moment of violent anger, and while yet cardinal only, Urban had once said that a certain something should be borne in mind, to Cardinal Ludovisio's cost. Now there was nothing that would so fatally have injured Urban in the conclave, where Ludovisio was so powerful, as this menace; but at the entreaty of Magalotti, Cecchini remained silent on the subject.

This pontiff appears in extremely characteristic colours on another occasion in this biography.

Urban VIII felt deeply mortified by the protest of Borgia; he attributed to the cardinals Ubaldini and Ludovisio some share in this matter, and desired to punish them for it. He would have thrown Ubaldini into prison, had not the fiscal steadfastly opposed himself to that purpose; but the cardinal was at least compelled to absent himself, nor would the pope suffer even Ludovisio to remain in Rome. He therefore called Cecchini, who was still in the service of Ludovisio, to his presence, and bade him notify to the cardinal that he must depart for his archbishopric of Bologna within fourteen days. He announced this determination with expressions of the most violent anger. "For a good hour," says Cecchini, "was I compelled to listen to him, while the pope threatened, with the most insulting expressions, that Borgia should be punished also; I dared not interrupt him, and he repeated that Ludovisio must depart, or that he should be driven out by the sbirri." On this occasion also it would have been better for Cecchini to have held his peace, but he thought it necessary to report what had passed to his patron, and the character of this court is intimated by the fact, that in doing so he injured himself with every one. Ludovisio thought that Cecchini ought not to have submitted patiently to the violent language of the pope, but should rather have brought matters to an open rupture. Cardinal Barberini was displeased, because Cecchini had not first spoken of the matter to him, the

cardinal-nephew; but most of all the pope himself was enraged, and the more so as the affair had become to a certain extent misrepresented in travelling round to him again. He caused the luckless Cecchini to be once more summoned, and made a scene in which his old anger against his enemies was mingled with regret for the violence of his late expressions; repentance for what he had done, and now wished undone: the conviction of his omnipotence as pope, with the consciousness that the other had, after all, not acted wrongfully, were very strangely blended together. But Urban VIII was a man who was sure to recover himself after a time. Ludovisio left Rome, and soon afterwards died. Cecchini, it is true, lost the post he had previously held, but he obtained a new one, and this even furnished him with occasional opportunity for approaching the pontiff. "Monsignor Cecchini," said the latter one day, "forgive us; we went too far with you." Cecchini says that the tears rose to his eyes on hearing this, and that he replied with the most profound devotion. The pope's master of the household paid him a visit that same day, declaring that his holiness had for four years been awaiting that hour, and rejoiced from his heart that it had at length arrived.

Cecchini then again attached himself principally to the Aldobrandini; we find him actively occupied with the marriage of Olimpia, the rich heiress of that house. Cardinal Ippolito had died without having definitively arranged that matter, and it was feared that the Barberini would not allow so rich an inheritance to escape them. Olimpia was obliged to feign sickness. With aid from the general of the Jesuits, whom it was necessary to consult on all occasions, they contrived to bring about her marriage with the young Borghese; this was in accordance with the last wishes of Cardinal Ippolito, and took place six days after his death.

But the Barberini did not suffer Cecchini to drop on that account; when they had made inquiry as to whether he were in any manner connected with the Farnesi also, they employed him to promote the measures adopted for the defence of the city.

Cecchini soon discovered that a new impost laid on the wines of Roman growth was causing extreme dissatisfaction.

He declared to Cardinal Barberini that this was a tax which the Romans never had endured, and which had caused them to revolt against Eugenius IV; he succeeded, in fact, although there had already been a monte founded on the proceeds, in prevailing on the cardinal immediately to summon the contractor. This man willingly resigned his contract, perceiving that there would be great difficulties in levying the amount. Cecchini hastened to the Capitol, where the people of Rome were holding an assembly, and at once imparted his intelligence. At first he was not believed, but he caused the contractor to come forward, by whom the statement was confirmed. All cried "Viva Papa Urbano! viva Monsignor Cecchini!" The people kissed his hands and his clothing.

But Cecchini had not yet attained his highest position. He had the good fortune to see another of his old protectors, and perhaps the most earnest of all, Cardinal Pamfili, ascend the papal throne.

In the first days of the new pontificate, the Barberini were in favour with Innocent X. Cecchini received an invitation to appear in the presence of the pope with the two cardinals. "Has Cardinal Barberini told you anything?" inquired Innocent. "No." The pontiff turned first to Francesco and then to Antonio, bidding them to speak. Both declined to do so. "We will no longer keep you in suspense," said the pope at length; "we have made you our datary; you are indebted for this to the cardinals Barberini, who requested this favour from us, and we have willingly granted their request."

But this office had much that was unpleasant attached to it. The pope was changeful, obstinate, and distrustful. We learn from other sources that the administration of Cecchini was not wholly free from blame. Donna Olimpia Maidalchina could not endure him, if for no other reason than that her sister-in-law, Donna Clementia, also received presents from him: but of these things I have already spoken; they possess a certain importance in relation to the government of Innocent X, since they occasioned the most revolting and disgraceful scenes. Cecchini was rejoiced that Donna Olimpia had at length been expelled

the court. It was during the time of her disgrace, and shortly after the death of Pancirolo, who died in November, 1651, consequently about the beginning of 1652, that he wrote this little work.

It appears to me that the prevalent character of this performance is entirely modern. I find evidence of this, not only in its modes of thought, but even in its various expressions; they are those that might depict the daily life of the Roman prelate in our own times, or in those immediately preceding them.

No. 122

Diario veridico e spassionato della città e corte di Roma, dove si legge tutti li successi della suddetta città incominciando dal primo d'Agosto 1640 *fino all' ultimo dell' anno* 1644, *notato e scritto fedelmente da Deone hora Temi Dio, e copiato dal proprio originale.* [A true and dispassionate diary of the city and court of Rome, wherein may be read all the events of the said city, from the 1st of August, 1640, to the end of the year 1644, noted and written faithfully by Deone, now Temi Dio, and copied from the original itself.] Informatt. Politt. vol. xl. to the close of 1642; vol. xlvii. to the end of 1644; vol. xlii. continuation, 1645–47; vol. xliii. 1648–1650. (Altogether more than 2,000 leaves.)

I have not succeeded in finding any other information respecting the author of this unusually extensive diary, than that occasionally communicated by himself.

We discover from this, that he was in the Spanish service, and was employed in affairs arising between the people of the Netherlands and the Papal See, more particularly with the dataria. I should judge this writer to have been a Spaniard, and not a native of the Netherlands. During the carnival he translates comedies from the Spanish into Italian, causing them to be acted by young people before a very brilliant company. He entertains a religious veneration for the Spanish monarchy, whose subject he is,

and often speaks of the "holy monarchy," but for which the bark of St. Peter would soon be overwhelmed. He sets his face against all dissidents and apostates with the most violent and undisguised abhorrence. The Catalans, who for a certain time had maintained themselves in independence, he considers to be a nation of barbarians; and when any of their number applied to him for a recommendation to the dataria, he bade them first become good servants of the king before begging favours at his hands. He finds it still less endurable that the Portuguese should have set up a king for themselves: his book is filled with invectives against that nation. He considers that at least all those belonging to it who had settled in Rome were inclined to lapse into Judaism. Yet, bad as matters were, he does not despair. He still hopes that Holland would once more submit to the king of Spain, and that in his own day. Heresy he thought had its stated periods, and must be suffered to come to an end. He was an enthusiastic and orthodox devotee of the Spanish monarchy.

Every fourteen days, this zealous servant of Philip IV dictated a letter or report of the remarkable occurrences taking place within that period, which he then transmitted to one or other of the Spanish grandees. They were originally "avvisi," so common at that time; written in a collected form, they constituted a journal.

That before us is composed entirely in the spirit proper to the author. The disposition of Urban VIII to France, and the whole character of the political position he had adopted, were regarded with infinite displeasure, and most unfavourably construed. Pope Innocent X, on the contrary, who pursued a different policy, was viewed with much more friendly eyes.

There is no subject which this author does not handle: ecclesiastical and literary affairs; histories of the religious orders and of courts; the most intimate relations, and the most extended foreign policy; political considerations in general, and accounts of cities in particular.

If we look more closely into the sources of his information, we shall find them, I think, to be principally the following:—In the antichambers of the cardinal-nephew,

all who had business in the palace were accustomed to assemble on certain fixed days. A general conversation ensued: each communicated the intelligence he possessed: nothing was likely to attract great attention that had not been discussed there; and, so far as I am enabled to conclude from intimations given here, our author derived the greater part of his information from this source.

He proceeds to his purpose with great probity; takes pains to obtain accurate information; and frequently adds notices previously omitted.

But he was also in occasional contact with the pope, the cardinal-nephew, and the most influential statesmen; he is most scrupulous in specifying whatever he gathered from their conversations, and it is sometimes sufficiently remarkable.

We cannot affirm that the reading of so diffuse a performance is altogether very interesting, but we derive from it an acquaintance with persons and things which gradually becomes almost equal to that afforded by personal intercourse, so frequently and in positions so varied are they placed beneath our notice.

It would not be possible to give extracts that would present even a moderately satisfactory idea of a work so voluminous; we must content ourselves with those passages to which I have already alluded.

"1. One of the most beautiful monuments of this former mistress of the world is an ancient relic, of a round form and a very great circumference, made of the finest marble" (a mistake, without doubt, for the monument is of travertine); "it is near St. Sebastian, and is called Capo di Bove. Bernini, a most famous sculptor of the pope, had thought to turn this to his own purposes; he is planning a gorgeous façade to the Acqua Vergine, called the Fountain of Trevi, and obtained a brief from the pope empowering him to cast that most beautiful structure to the earth, which he had commenced doing; but when the Roman people perceived that, they prevented him from proceeding, and the work has been stopped, that there might not be commotions.

"2. On Tuesday morning the Roman people held a

general council in the Capitol, which was the most crowded ever seen, from the fact that it was joined by many of the nobles who had never presented themselves on former occasions. The business proposed for discussion was this: that the Roman people being oppressed by the taxes which Pope Urban had imposed, they should petition his holiness to take off at least the tax on ground corn, and the rather, as this had been imposed only for the duration of the war then proceeding, but which had now ceased. The petition was agreed to, and six Roman gentlemen were deputed to present it at once to the pope. Then there appeared Don Cesare Colonna, uncle of the prince of Gallicano, who demanded audience from the Roman people on behalf of the Signora Donna Anna Barberini. He was directed to come forward, and having mounted the temporary rostrum, drew forth a memorial which he said was from Donna Anna Colonna (Colonna-Barberini), and demanded that he might read it. It was read, and was to the effect, that the pope ought not to be asked for the repeal of taxes lawfully imposed for a legitimate purpose by Pope Urban, whose zeal for justice, and many services rendered to this city, forbade them to abrogate what he had decided. All were amazed at such a proposal for impeding the relief required by the people, but it was at once comprehended, that the good lady concluded this tax likely to be repealed at the expense of the riches held by the Barberini. The reply returned to Colonna was, that the senate and people did no more than lay before his holiness the necessities of the city: and with this he ran in all haste to Donna Anna, who stood waiting for it at the church of the Ara Coeli.

"On Wednesday, Cardinal Colonna having heard of the extravagant proposal made by his sister, sent to the Roman senate, assuring them that he had no part whatever in that absurdity, but was ready to aid the just petition of the people. On Friday morning the Roman people again convoked a new council, when a report was presented, to the effect that his holiness had been pleased to take off the tax on ground corn, taking the property of Don Taddeo Barberini for that purpose. Thus the contrivance of Donna Anna Barberini was very shrewdly devised."

No. 123

Del stato di Roma presente. [Report of the present state of Rome.] (MS. in the Vienna Library. Foscarini Papers, No. 147.) Also under the title: *Relatione di Roma fatta dall' Almaden.* [Report on Rome prepared by Almaden.]

I will not venture to decide whether this belongs to the latter days of Urban VIII or the earlier part of Innocent X, but it is of great importance for its elucidation of domestic affairs relating to the former period; as, for example, the state of the Tiber and Arno, the increase of the malaria (aria cattiva), the revenues of the Romans, financial affairs in general, and the condition of families. This little work may possibly proceed from the author of the above diary; there are certain indications that might lead to such a conclusion.[1]

But I will not give extended extracts, because I think I have seen an old printed copy in the possession of the late Fea. I will but quote the passage which follows, and to which I have referred above (vol. ii. p. 414).

"Gregory XIII, considering the large amount of money sent from Rome and the Papal States in payment for corn which came by sea from Barbary and other places, this too being frequently heated and spoiled, or else arriving too late, nay sometimes failing altogether, commanded that, to obviate all these inconveniences, the country should be cleared of wood for many miles around, and should be brought into cultivation, so that Rome has from that time rarely needed foreign corn, and the good pope Gregory in so far obtained his intent. But this clearance has opened a passage to the pestilential winds, which occasion the most dangerous insalubrity, and cause a disease called by Alessandro da Cività, the physician, in his treatise on the diseases of the Romans, 'capiplenium,' a most distressing complaint, even more troublesome to foreigners than to natives, and which has increased since the formation of so

[1] This opinion is confirmed by the fact that the name of the author of the Diary may now be taken as established. Both works are from the pen of the Spanish Resident, Teodoro Ameiden.

many waterworks; because Rome, being already low and thus humid from its position, has been rendered more so by the abundance of waters for the fountains. Moreover, as Gregory XIII cleared the country below Rome and towards the sea, which was rich and well calculated for the cultivation of corn, so did Sixtus V clear that above the city, though less fertile, that he might destroy the haunts of the robbers who infested the highways; and truly he succeeded in his object, for he rooted out all the assassins."

The author approves the proceedings of Sixtus V because they procured a free passage for the Tramontana; but how many evils have since been attributed to the Tramontana! (Cancellieri sopra il tarantismo, p. 88).

No. 124

Compendio delli casi più degni e memorandi occorsi nelli pontificati da Gregorio XIII fino alla creatione di Clemente IX. [Compendium of the most remarkable events in the pontificates from Gregory XIII to the accession of Clement IX.] 50 leaves.

The author declares that he saw the clouds which darkened the Quirinal on the death of Sixtus V, Aug. 1590. Since, therefore, this little work extends to 1667, it is obvious that it cannot proceed from one sole author; it must have been continued at a later period with a similar purpose to that with which it was begun, namely, the formation of a collection of Roman anecdotes and remarkable events. We read in it, for example, of the French monks in Trinità di Monte having quarrelled with those from Calabria and elsewhere, and having driven them out, so that the latter built the convent of Andrea della Fratte, which was then still surrounded by gardens; of how the Jesuits aroused all other orders to the performance of their duties; of miracles that were performed, together with notices of buildings erected by the popes.

But there is much in all this that deserves attention. The following narrative, for example, describing the death of Bianca Capello.

"The grand-duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capello, desiring to poison her brother-in-law, Cardinal Ferdinand, with a certain confection, the grand-duke Francesco, her husband, ate of it first: when she perceived this, she ate of it also herself, and they both died immediately; so that Cardinal Ferdinand became grand-duke." And the next, relating to the removal of Cardinal Klesel from Vienna, to which the Jesuit-confessor of Ferdinand II would never consent. "One day Verospi found an opportunity for being alone with the emperor, and free from the Jesuit's presence; then, with much address, he made the emperor understand that he could not retain the said cardinal, and that the pope was his sole and proper judge. He so wrought on the emperor as to make him weep, and the cardinal was at once consigned to him." We find traits of manners also. A rich prelate inserts a clause in his will to the effect that his nephew shall inherit his property, only in the event of his dying a natural death; otherwise, it is to go to pious institutions. Again, Duke Cesarini would never pay any debt until preparations were made for selling the pledge that he had given for it. An Orsini threatened to throw a creditor, who entreated for his money, from the window; the creditor implored that he would first let him confess to a priest; but Orsini replied that no one should come into his presence without having already confessed ("che bisognava venirci confessato"). A necromancer arrived in Rome in a carriage drawn by two dogs; these were reported to be a pair of devils, who conducted him wherever he pleased to go: the courier from Milan affirmed that he had left him in that city, yet now found him in Rome. The supposed wizard was therefore arrested and put to death.

Were these notices the work of writers possessing higher powers of mind, they would be invaluable, and would have placed the life and manners of those times before us, without the necessity of studies so toilsome as that of the above-named diary.

We will now proceed to the writings immediately relating to Innocent X.

Remarks on "Gualdi Vita di Donna Olimpia Maldachina," 1666

When we learn that Grégorio Leti, with whom we are sufficiently acquainted, was the author of the work before us, we find little motive remaining for a discussion of its credibility; there are the strongest presumptions against it.

But since a French translation of it appeared in 1770, and one in German in 1783, since also the German Schrockh considers that its principal facts at least may be relied on, from the circumstance that they have never been contradicted, it may not perhaps be superfluous to say a word on the subject. The author, on his part, affirms boldly that he will relate nothing which he has not himself seen, or of which he has not procured the most authentic information.

But from the outset he pronounces his own condemnation by a narrative, to the effect that the Maldachini family, which he considers to be of Rome, having once undertaken a pilgrimage to Loreto, were joined at Borgheto by the young Pamfili, who fell in love with Donna Olimpia, the daughter of the house; that he married her on the return of the family to Rome. But Olimpia was very soon more intimate with her husband's brother, at that time a young "abbate," and afterwards pope, than with her husband himself. To this intimacy the influence subsequently possessed by Donna Olimpia over Innocent X is attributed.

But we may confidently affirm that of all this, not one word is true.

The Maidalchini family was not Roman, but from Acquapendente. Donna Olimpia was a widow when she was married to Pamfili. Paolo Nini, of Viterbo, the last of his race, was her first husband, and as she inherited his wealth, she brought a rich dowry into the house of Pamfili: it was on this wealth, and not on an imaginary intimacy with the pope, that the influence she enjoyed in the family was founded. When this marriage was concluded, Innocent X was very far from being "a young abbate." On an inscription placed by the head of the house in the Villa Maidalchina at Viterbo, we find it notified that he had adorned

this villa in the year 1625, before his sister had married into the house of Pamfili. "Marchio Andreas Maidalchinus — — villam hanc ante nuptam sororem suam Olympiam cum Innocentii X germano fratre — — extruxit ornavitque anno Domini MDCXXV." In Bussi's "Istoria di Viterbo," p. 332, the whole inscription is given. The marriage then could scarcely have taken place until 1626, at which time Giambattista Pamfili, afterwards Innocent X, was already fifty-four years old, and for twenty years had been no longer an abbate, but a prelate. He was at that very time occupied in various nunciatures. If any conclusion may be drawn from his own expressions, the merit of Donna Olimpia in his eyes was that she then, as well as subsequently, assisted him from her own possessions. He was thus enabled to maintain that splendour of appearance which was then essential to advancement. It was in accordance with this beginning that the whole connection afterwards proceeded; since Donna Olimpia had promoted the rise of the prelate, and had some share in securing his elevation to the papal dignity, she desired to obtain a certain amount of the advantages resulting from it.

In the circumstantial diary above alluded to, which follows Donna Olimpia step by step, and wherein all the mysteries of the papal household are discussed, not the slightest trace of an illicit intimacy between the pontiff and his sister-in-law is to be discovered.

This little work of Leti's is another romance, composed of apocryphal assertions and chimerical stories.

No. 125

Relatione degli ambasciatori estraordinarj a Roma al sommo pontefice Innocentio X, Pietro Foscarini K^r, Zuanne Nani K^r Proc^r, Aluise Mocenigo I fu di q. Aluise, e Bertucci Valier K^r. 1645, 3 *Ott.* [Report of Pietro Foscarini, Zuanne Nani, Aluise Mocenigo, and Bertucci Valier, ambassadors extraordinary to Innocent X.]

After the death of Urban VIII a complete change ensued. Innocent X was not liked by the French, and

would on his part gladly have aided the emperor had he possessed the power to do so; towards the Venetians he was very friendly. He may, perhaps, have shewn a certain degree of indecision in his policy, from the irresolution natural to his character. The ambassadors considered it, therefore, doubly imperative for the republic to avoid all quarrels arising from private grounds, and not to throw away the papal favour on account of a dissolute monk.

The previous history of Innocent X is related in the manner following:—

"The present pontiff, Innocent X, formerly called Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Pamfili, was born of the house of Pamfili, which originated from Ugubbio, a city of the state of Urbino. His family came to settle in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent VIII; the Pamfili allied themselves with the first houses of the city, living always in high repute and honour. The mother of his holiness belonged to the family of the marquises of Buffolo, a noble and princely house, of which the pope now makes great account, more than one of its members being in his service at the palace. His holiness was brought up by his paternal uncle, Cardinal Gerolamo Pamfili, who lived in great credit, and was himself near being pope. He was created cardinal by Clement VIII, while auditor-dean of the rota, and was illustrious for his virtues and the blameless purity of his life. His holiness is in his seventy-second year, of height above the common, well proportioned, majestic in person, full of benevolence and affability. Thus, whenever he comes forth from his apartments to hold consistories, appear in the chapels, or on other occasions, he willingly and promptly gives audience to all persons, of whatsoever condition and however poor and miserable, who present themselves before him: he receives their memorials with great patience and charity, endeavours to relieve every one, and comforts all: his subjects heartily applauding him, and finding a great difference between the present pontificate and that preceding. The pope was first consistorial advocate, and next, auditor of the rota, elected by Clement VIII. He was sent nuncio to Spain by Gregory XV, and was employed under Urban VIII in the French and Spanish legations of Cardinal

Barberini, with the title of datary. He was created patriarch of Antioch by the same Urban, was sent nuncio into Spain, and afterwards promoted to the cardinalate on the 9th of November, 1627. As cardinal he had the reputation of being severe in character, inclined to rigour, exact in all ecclesiastical affairs. He was always chosen for the most important congregations, and may be said to have exercised all the principal offices of the Roman see to the general satisfaction: modesty, patience, integrity, and virtue, having always made their abode in his mind; his purpose ever being to offend none, to be friendly to all, and to forgive injuries. He enjoys good health, and has a tolerably robust constitution, is temperate in his diet, loves exercise, attends in the chapels and at other services with great majesty, and performs all his ecclesiastical duties with extreme pomp, decorum, and punctuality, as also with particular enjoyment to himself. He proceeds with the gravest deliberation in all important affairs, and will have time to examine and determine them. In all his past life he was accustomed to rise late and go late to bed; he pursues a similar method in his pontificate, so that he rarely retires before midnight or rises until some hours after day. He was formerly much inclined to make great account of the sovereigns, and wished to give them all just satisfaction on every occasion: he affirms himself to remain in the same dispositions, nor will he shew partiality to either of the two crowns, desiring to be the affectionate father of all. He feels that he has not been well treated, either by the one or the other, and has spoken his sentiments very freely on that matter with us. He believes that each complains merely to advance his own interest, although both know well the necessity that exists for his maintaining his independence, to which he is bound as well by his natural love of peace, as by the position of sovereign pontiff in which he is placed. He encourages himself in these views, receiving great support from his confidence in the most serene Republic, which he believes capable, by its influence, counsels, and friendship, of proving his most effectual safeguard: indeed a person of great eminence, and in whom we entirely confide, has admitted to some of us, perhaps by order of his holiness, that the

pope might be easily disposed to ally himself with your excellencies by a particular treaty, when he thought the state of public affairs favourable. Whereunto a reply was made in general terms, but with respect, that no bond could more effectually unite princes than sincerity, concord of hearts, and uniformity of purposes and interests."

No. 126

Relatione dell' ambasciatore Veneto Aluise Contarini fatta al senato dopo il ritorno della sua ambasceria appresso Innocentio X. 1648. [Report of the Venetian ambassador Aluise Contarini, on returning from his embassy to Innocent X.] 22 leaves.

This pontificate also was far from turning out so advantageously as had been expected. To the first and somewhat honourable report, are already added by Aluise Contarini, the son of Niccolò (the earlier Aluise was a son of Tommaso Contarini), many particulars that are much less favourable.

In his youth Innocent X had preferred knightly exercises and congenial amusements (passatempi amorevoli) to study. He had acquired but little consideration during his nunciature in France; and for his perpetual evasions and refusals he had received the byname of "Monsignor It-can't-be" (M^r^. Non-si-puol). In Spain, on the contrary, his frugality of words had obtained him the reputation of being a wise man.

What made him pope? Answer: three things,—he talked little, dissembled much, and did—nothing at all. "Da corteggiani fu detto che tre cose l'avevano fatto papa, il parlar poco, simulare assai, e non far niente."

"He now shews but little disposition to confer favours, is difficult and punctilious. . . . He is considered by all to be slow of apprehension, and to have but small capacity for important combinations; he is, nevertheless, very obstinate in his ideas; he seeks to avoid being thought partial to any sovereign." A friend to repose and to justice, not cruel, and a good economist.

The immediate circle of the pope: Donna Olimpia, dear to him because she had brought a large dowry into the house and assisted him with it: "A woman of masculine mind and spirit; she proves herself to be a woman only by her pride and avarice." Pancirolo: "Of pleasing manners and vigorous intellect; courteous, both in look and word." Capponi: "He conceals his malice of purpose beneath a smiling countenance." Spada: "He plumes himself on his valuable endowments of mind." We perceive that our author does not always express himself in the most respectful terms. With a pope of Innocent's character, the want of a nephew was doubly felt.

Then follow certain features of his administration: "There is a remark current among the courtiers to the effect that whoever has to treat with the pope believes his business all but completed in the first audience; in the second he discovers that it has yet to be commenced; and perceives to his amazement in the third, that his suit has been rejected. . . . The pontiff considers that prince contemptible who neglects to keep a good amount of ready money at hand to be used in case of emergency. To save himself from expenditure, he is content to endure the most opprobrious buffetings of adverse fortune; the yearly supplies of Rome being diminished by the failure of those resources which had in fact been utterly destroyed by the results of the Barberini war. His holiness knowing the supply of corn in particular would be scanty, has repeatedly intimated his intention of advancing a large sum of money to make up the deficiency; but his very nature revolting from the disbursement of money, he has been labouring to fulfil his intent by other means, and has done it very inadequately. . . . The municipalities are all so exhausted and ruined by the Barberini war, that it is impossible they should ever recover from its effects. . . . The private revenues of the pope are 800,000 scudi, consisting of the gains from compositions with the dataria, and from the vacancies of offices in that department as well as in the chancery, together with those proceeding from a kind of 'monti vacabili,' of the auditor and treasurer of the camera, clerks of the camera, and other offices of similar character. This

entire amount, which flows into the privy purse, and not into the public treasure, is at the pontiff's absolute disposal; he may expend the whole at his pleasure, and give it to whom he pleases, without fear that any amount of it will be demanded by his successor." His buildings on the Capitol, at St. Peter's, and the Lateran: "In the latter, while he renewed the three naves of the church on a new model, he permitted all the essential parts of that beautiful and well-imagined entablature to remain untouched." In the Piazza Navona: "By the casting down of certain buildings that were near S. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli, the place assumed the form of a square."

It will be remarked that Contarini, notwithstanding the unfavourable impression produced on him by the court, was yet on the whole impartial and instructive.

No. 127

Memoriale presentato alla S^tà di N. S^re Papa Innocenzo X dai deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio, 1648. [Memorial presented to Pope Innocent X by the deputies of the city of Fermo, touching the commotion that occurred there on the 6th of July, 1648.]

In the "Historia delle guerre civili di questi ultimi tempi," Ven. 1664, by Majolino Bisaccioni, will be found, as we have already observed, together with the most important events, with facts concerning Charles I and Cromwell, and with accounts of the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia, a "Historia della guelle civile di Fermo," an account of a tumult, that is, wherein the papal governor, Visconti, was killed.

The memorial before us is that with which two deputies, Lorenzo Nobile and Lucio Guerrieri, appeared before the pope, to implore forgiveness for that offence.

According to their narration, which is much more authentic, and more life-like than that of Bisaccioni, and which affords us an insight into the domestic condition of

cities at that period, the corn harvest had failed, and bread was unusually dear, yet the governor was determined to export corn from the district of Fermo notwithstanding. He would listen to no warning. With his carbine at his side, and pistols on the table before him, he declared that he would rather die as became a governor and a soldier, than yield to the pressure. He forbade the meeting of the council, to which deputies had come from the neighbouring communes, and drew together his forces. But these troops of his "came from the fields they had reaped, from the barns wherein they had thrashed the corn." They knew the privations to which the country was exposed, and instead of assailing the insurgent people, they adopted their party. The governor saw himself compelled to yield, in despite of his boastings, and the corn was suffered to remain within the territory of the city.

But scarcely was quiet restored, when a body of Corsican soldiers, called in by the governor, appeared at the gates. The people would not be persuaded but that Visconti still proposed to carry through his purpose by means of these troops. A tumult ensued: all exclaimed, "We are betrayed! To arms!" The alarm bell was rung, the palace was stormed, and the governor slain.

The deputies protest their fidelity, and deplore the occurrence. . . . at which the nobles more particularly were troubled "to see a prelate, who had been given to them by your holiness for their government, thus slain by men of the people while they could do nothing to prevent it."

No. 128

Relatione della corte di Roma del Cav^re Giustiniani data in senato l'anno 1652. [Report from Rome, by the Cavalier Giustiniani.] Copy in the Magliabechiana Library, Florence, 24, 65.

Under Innocent X, too, admiration and hope soon changed, first to doubt and disapprobation, and finally to complaint and reproach.

Zuan Zustinian (for thus it is that the Venetians write and pronounce this name) proceeded, after many other embassies, from Vienna to Rome, where he resided from 1648 to 1651. With the events of these years his despatches are filled, and it is to this period that his report refers.

His description of the court is by no means cheering.

He affirms that whatever good qualities the pope possessed were turned to the advantage of Rome, or at most of the Papal States; while his faults were injurious to all Christendom. But even in the States of the Church, crying evils resulted from the practice adopted of remitting the severest punishments for money. "I am assured, on the most unquestionable authority, that during the seven years of this pontificate, there has been extracted from compositions with persons prosecuted as criminals no less a sum than 1,200,000 scudi, which make nearly 2,000,000 ducats." The influence of Donna Olimpia Maidalchina is here described as a sort of public calamity. "A woman of great spirit, but her sole title to influence is that of a rigid economist. When offices fell vacant at court, nothing was decided without her good pleasure; when church livings were to be distributed, the ministers of the dataria had orders to defer all appointments to them, until notice had been given to her of the nature of those benefices, so that she might select such as best pleased her, for her own disposal; if episcopal sees were to be conferred, it was to her that the candidates applied; and that which most effectually revolted every upright mind, was to see that those were preferred who were most liberal in giving."

The author proceeds thus throughout his work; but I cannot be quite certain that the report is really genuine.

It is not to be found in the Venetian archives. In the Magliabechiana at Florence there are two copies, but they do not agree perfectly throughout. I have confined myself to the more moderate of the two.

I was fortunately not reduced to this report for materials; since the diary above named (see No. 122), with the notices supplied by Pallavicini in his life of Alexander VII, afforded much better information.

No. 129

Relatione dell' ambasceria estraordinaria fatta in Roma alla S^tà di N. S^re Alessandro VII dagli Ecc^mi SS^ri Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero e Sagredo per rendere a nome della Ser^ma Republica di Venetia la solita obedienza al sommo pontefice l'anno 1656. [Report of the extraordinary embassy of Signors Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero, and Sagredo, sent by the republic of Venice to render the accustomed homage to Pope Alexander VII.]

The same Pesaro, in whose embassy it was that the dispute arose between Urban VIII and the republic, and who had from that time been considered an adversary of the clergy, was placed at the head of this embassy of congratulation, and was entrusted by his colleagues with the preparation of the report; and, whether because his opinions had from the first been very moderate, as he affirms, or that the years which had passed since his previous embassy had produced a change in his views, it is certain that his report is extremely reasonable, impartial, and instructive.

It is true that he expresses disapprobation of Innocent X and his government, but not in terms so extremely severe as those used by others. "In addition to the insatiable cupidity prevailing in that house, there was a further evil arising from the want of ministers capable of administering so important a sovereignty; for the suspicious character of that pope rendered him incapable of putting trust in any one. Thus it came to pass that almost every thing was regulated by the immoderate demands of a woman, by which there was afforded ample scope to satirical pens; and good occasion was offered for making the disorders of that government seem even worse than they really were."

Now, however little this may sound like eulogy, yet it is a very mild judgment, as we have said, when compared with the violent declamations of other writers.

But the principal object of this report is the new pontiff, Alexander VII.

The opinion of Pesaro, and the conviction of all else at that time, was that the elevation of Fabio Chigi was attributable to the fame of his virtues, and the reputation he had gained in his nunciatures; but that the Medici had not been sincerely gratified by the promotion of one of their subjects to the papacy. "A more righteous election could not have been hoped for, even from a senate of men, who, although they may sometimes have their minds distracted by worldly affairs, yet could not fail to be finally influenced by that Holy Spirit which they suppose to be present at an act of such high moment."

He describes his early progress, and gives a general sketch of his first measures as pope: "He appears to be but slightly acquainted with financial affairs, although profoundly skilled in those relating to the Church; he is by no means immoveably attached to his own opinions." Pesaro speaks also of his connections, but we need not repeat what we have already said on that subject; affairs very soon took a different direction from that which had been expected.

"The world is in too much haste, as it seems to us (remarks Pesaro), in exalting to the skies these opinions of the pope respecting his kindred: to judge properly, there must be time for observing how he may withstand the pretences of affection to which he will be subjected." Even then, so many representations were made to the pope from all sides, that it seemed impossible for his firmness to avoid being shaken.

But this mission had another and more important object than that of congratulating the pontiff on his accession; it was charged to entreat the court of Rome for assistance in the war of Candia.

The envoys enlarged upon the efforts made by Venice to withstand the enemy, upon the means they had adopted for defraying the costs of the war: they had taken up loans at heavy interest, some by way of life annuity, others perpetual; they had effected sales of allodial and feudal domains; had extended the dignities of the state, which had hitherto been closely restricted, to large numbers; nay, they had even conferred on many the honours of Venetian

nobility, although conscious that its value was maintained by the rarity of the grant. But all their resources were now exhausted; nothing was to be hoped from the other potentates of Christendom, who were too completely occupied by dissensions among themselves: their only refuge was the Holy See.

The pope did not hear all this without marks of sympathy; he replied by an eloquent eulogy on the republic, who had opposed the fury of the barbarians, not with iron only, but with gold; with regard to the principal question, however, he declared that he was not in a condition to help them. The papal treasury was so completely exhausted, that he did not even know by what means he was to provide the city with bread.

The envoys did not yet resign their hopes; they represented that the danger was so pressing as to justify his having recourse to the ancient treasure laid up by Sixtus V; "before the urgency of events that may arise becomes more pressing, and for the support of religion; but most especially for that of his own ecclesiastical dominions." The pope was particularly impressed by the consideration, that the enemy would be emboldened by perceiving that a new pope also refused the succour so greatly needed. Alexander was fully convinced that something must be done; he suggested that a certain portion of their ecclesiastical property might be confiscated.

How remarkable it is that measures of this kind should be first recommended by the Roman court. Innocent X had already proposed to the Venetians the abolition of two orders—those of the Canonici di S. Spirito, and of the Cruciferi: it was the design of that pontiff to form secular canonicates from their revenues. But the Venetians were afraid, in the first place, that the Roman court would reserve to itself the patronage of these canonicates; and secondly, they considered these institutions as a refuge for the poor nobility. This proposal Alexander now renewed.

"The pope, seeming to reflect on what could be done for our relief, began by saying; that for some time past, the Apostolic See, considering, not the abundance only, but the superfluity of religious institutions, had become

convinced, that some of them, degenerating from the first intentions of their founders, had lapsed into a total relaxation of discipline, that it was equally advisable for the church as for the laity to adopt the expedients used by prudent husbandmen, when they see that the multitude of branches has impoverished their vines, instead of rendering them more fruitful. That a commencement had been made in that matter by the suppression of some orders, but that this was not enough; rather it was obviously necessary to restrict this great number, and reduce them to such as retain, or can at least be brought back to the primitive form of their institutions. That to open a way for this purpose, there had been suppressed a great number of very small convents, wherein the rigour of monastic seclusion had been suffered to relax with but little observation; and that it was proposed to continue the work by proceeding to the final abolition of certain others, which, by their licentious mode of life, filled the world with scandal and murmurs, instead of presenting good examples, and affording edification. But he further said that he proceeded slowly, because he desired, in a matter of so much importance, to obtain the good-will of the secular princes, who, not having well examined the motives of the Apostolic See for this resolution, had given evidence of some dislike to the execution of the papal briefs: but that hoping to find all eventually ready to help forward a resolve so well matured, he placed it meanwhile before the most serene republic for consideration. The Venetian territory, he further remarked, abounding in this kind of religious orders, an easy method was presented of promoting the upright intentions set forth by him who has the supreme direction of the church, and at the same time of obtaining a considerable sum in aid of the present war against the infidels: that none could know better than ourselves to what an extremity of dissolute excesses the canons of San Spirito in Venice had proceeded, the serene republic having been compelled to restrain the disorders of that convent: that, not content with a total departure from all conventual observances, the brethren had furthermore so indecently abused the wealth which might have been made to serve for the maintenance of a number fivefold larger than their

house contained, as to be always deeply in debt: that the same might be said of the Cruciferi, among whom there was scarcely a vestige of monastic life discernible. His holiness accordingly thought it desirable that these two orders should be suppressed, and that measures might be taken into consideration with regard to the sale of their possessions, the produce whereof might be converted to the uses of this war, since the same was directed against the most terrible enemy of the Christian name."

This time the envoys were inclined to the opinion that such a proposal was not to be rejected. They computed the large capital that would result from these sales, compared with the small, and soon to be extinguished annuities, and the advantages to be secured to the cultivation of the country by the secularization of estates so important. Their mode of considering a question then so new, and which afterwards became so general, deserves to be given in their own words.

"In effect, when we have made the suitable assignments to the monks, which, for both orders, will not amount to more than 10,000 ducats per annum, should their estates, returning a revenue of 26,000 ducats, be sold, as might be expected, for 600,000 ducats, the public will have but two per cent. to pay in annuities,—nay, rather less. And the arguments usually put forward against transactions of this kind fall to the ground in face of the annual provision to be made for the surviving brotherhood. Moreover, by thus dismembering from the ecclesiastical body so vast an amount of property, situated in the best parts of the Venetian dominions, the laity will enter into possession of the same without offering wrong to the piety of those great souls who had the firmness to deprive their descendants of so rich a possession to found and establish religion in these lands; for if now these benefactors could see how well religion is rooted among us, they would give no other expression to their sentiments than this, that if it had been satisfactory to them to be the founders of so many monasteries for the retreat of holy men, no less would they rejoice to know that these same riches, seeing that religious orders superabound, should be converted to the repulsion of that impious enemy who is

threatening to destroy the piety, which they, with their own inheritance, had laboured to promote."

After the affairs of Venice, which here again present an aspect of great importance, the concerns of Europe generally are discussed.

The undertakings of Charles X Gustavus produced a powerful impression in Rome, and money was collected in aid of King Casimir.

But a thing still more sensibly felt by the court of Rome was that the French were not only disinclined to make peace with Spain, but that Mazarin even allied himself with England —a cardinal with Protestants, the most Christian kingdom with a usurper who had expelled the legitimate princes; and that he should do this, without any necessity, without being driven to it by any pressing danger,—this shocked the Curia extremely.

Were it not for these troubles, the pope would direct his every effort for the entire restoration of Germany—where his personal reputation stood so high—to the Catholic faith. The conversion of the queen of Sweden excited the hopes of all on that subject.

The ambassadors saw the splendid preparations made for the reception of that queen. They could in nowise approve the unsettled life she led, "incompatible perhaps with her age and with her maiden state," as they very discreetly express themselves, yet they render full justice to the vigour and boldness of her determination.

"You have here in few words what we have thought it suitable to relate," says Pesaro at this point of the narration.

To this concluding phrase he further subjoins the good advice, that the best possible understanding should always be maintained with the pope.

His holiness had expressed himself explicitly as to the satisfaction it would give him, if Venice would consent to the readmission of the Jesuits at his request. The ambassador is disposed to think that this should be conceded.

"It appears to me that the time has come for deciding whether this return is to be permitted, or whether—to avoid occasions, arising from time to time, for becoming on bad terms with the popes, by reason of these Jesuits—the

subject should be consigned to perpetual silence. . . . We may perhaps find a motive for complying with the desire of the pope in this respect by considering that these men, being, as they are, very active instruments for supporting the rights of the church, all reigning pontiffs will be likely to renew the request for their readmission, and the constant rejection of the same at the commencement of each pontificate may give occasion for ill-will."

No. 130

Vita, attioni et operationi di Alessandro VII, opera del C^l^ Pallavicini. [Life, acts, and proceedings of Alexander VII, by Cardinal Pallavicini.] 2 vols. folio. Corsini Library.

In the Barberini library in Rome, a MS. was one day placed in my hands, with the title "Alexandri VII de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi." It contained about 300 leaves, and was as full of corrections as only an autograph could be; but, by an unhappy chance, the whole was in utter confusion. The bookbinder had arranged the sheets, which were to have been read separately, in groups of five. It was almost impossible to make any thing of it.

It begins thus: "Res suo tempore gestas literis commendare, quamvis et nunc et olim usitatum, plerisque tamen eo nomine minus probatur quod arduum scriptori sit procul habere spem, metum, amorem, odium animi, nubes quæ historiam, lucem veritatis, infuscant." Wherever I examined this MS., I found interesting information, derived from good authority, respecting the youth of Alexander, the invitation of his kindred to Rome, the arrival of Christina . . . is it really possible that the pope, amidst the occupations of the supreme power, could yet have found time, not only to write his own life, but also to correct the style throughout with so much diligence?

It soon became evident that, notwithstanding the title, this could not have been the case.

The author affirms, among other things, that he was enabled to undertake this work by an intimate acquaintance with the pope: "Fortunae obsecundantis beneficium fuit, ut cum hoc principe inferiores gradus obtinente singularis intercesserit mihi animorum consensio et mutua tum ore tum literis consiliorum communicatio."

The question then became, who was this intimate acquaintance, nay, confidant of Alexander VII?

Under date of the year 1656, Muratori informs us that the Jesuit Pallavicini had prepared himself—at the commencement of Alexander's pontificate, which awakened hopes so brilliant—to write the life of that pope; but that after the invitation of the nephews to court, and the changes connected with that measure, "the pen fell from his hand." Pallavicini was without doubt personally intimate with Alexander: in the beginning of his pontificate, he saw the pope every day. This fragment may, therefore, very possibly have been the work of Pallavicini.

After some further researches, a biography of Alexander VII, attributed to Cardinal Pallavicini, was found in the same library. It is true that it was written in Italian; but it was worth while to collate the two.

The first glance shewed that the Latin and Italian were the same work. The first paragraph runs thus: "E opinione di molti che non si debba scrivere historie se non delle cose antiche, intorno alle quali la speranza e la paura, l'amore e l'odio verso le persone commemorate non habbian luogo nè possono infoscare la verità." The second passage that I have quoted is thus expressed in Italian: "Imperoche m'è toccato a sorte d'haber con questo principe nella sua minor fortuna una singolare e corrispondenza d'affetto e confidenza di communicationi hor con la lingua hor con la penna per lo spatio già di 30 anni."

And thus it proceeds. The Latin copy was clearly proved to be a translation of the Italian, only somewhat freely rendered, and with a slight change in the mode of thought.

But the resemblance was unfortunately closer than I could have wished; for as the Latin copy, as announced in its title, was but a fragment, so was the Italian also throughout

in a most dilapidated condition. After some intimations of Alexander's early youth, the narration proceeds at once to his election, and the first measures of his pontificate.

To seek earnestly, yet with insufficient results, does but increase the eagerness of inquiry. I sought through all quarters, and ultimately found another copy in the Albani library, but this also is equally imperfect.

And now I believed that I must needs content myself with this, since in an anonymous life of Pallavicini, I found a fragment only of this history cited, the very books, that is to say, which were already known to me; but at last I was so fortunate as to find in the Corsini Library a more complete copy (it is that of which the title is given above), in two thick folio volumes.

The work here bears the name of Pallavicini on its front, and proceeds without interruption to the second chapter of the sixth book. In this state the work becomes worthy of serious consideration, and is of value for the history of the period.

The first book contains the early history of Alexander VII: "Stirpe, parentele, natali, fanciullezza di Fabio Chigi: — studj, avvenimenti della pueritia: — studj filosofici e legali: — amicitie particolari." These chapters were all comprised in the Latin and Italian copies, but the Corsini copy further adds: "azioni et esercitii pii: — vicelegatione di Ferrara sotto Sacchetti: — nuntiatura di Colonia."

In the second book, the government of Innocent X, and the part which Chigi took in the administration, are described in fourteen chapters, which bring the narration down to the time of the conclave.

The third book treats of the commencement of Alexander's pontificate; describes the state of Europe generally, with that of the Papal States; alludes to the first financial measures, and refers to those respecting the "monti vacabili." The writer further discusses the conversion of Queen Christina of Sweden, which he does minutely, and with manifest pleasure. I hold the opinion, that when it has been affirmed, as, for example, by Arckenholtz, "Mémoires de Christine," iv. 39, that Pallavicini wrote a "Historia di Christina regina di Suezia," this

assertion has rested merely on an imperfect acquaintance with these fragments. In the Latin copy, Christina's conversion is accounted for in the manner following :—

"In libris Tullii de natura deorum animadvertens veram religionem nonnisi unam, omnes falsas esse posse, super hac parte diu multumque cogitando laboravit.[1] Sollicita quoque fuit dubitare de liberorum operum bonorum pravorumque discrimine, nisi quantum alia salubria mundo sunt, alia perniciosa, cujusmodi naturalia sunt, et de divinae providentiae cura vel incuria circa humanas actiones, deque voluntate divina num certum cultum et statutam fidem requirat. Nullus fuit nobilis autor qui ea de re scripsisset, quem illa non perlustraret, non vir apprime doctus harum rerum in borealibus plagis cum quo sermocinari non studeret. Et proclivis interdum fuit ad opinandum, satis esse suae regionis palam colere religionem, caeterum vivere convenienter naturae. Ad extremum in hanc venit sententiam, deum, hoc est optimum, tyranno quovis pejorem fore si conscientiae morsibus acribus sed falsis humanum genus universum cruciaret, si mortalibus ab eodem insita notione communi grata sibi esse eorum sacrificia eorumque votis annuere nihil ea cuncta curaret. — —"

In the fourth book, of which a part only is given in the Latin and older copies, the author begins with the summoning of the papal kindred to Rome. "Raggioni che persuasero al papa di chiamare i nepoti. Discorsi di Roma." So far is it from being true that "the pen dropped from Pallavicini's hand" on approaching this subject, that he describes it, on the contrary, at full length, and discusses the opinions prevailing in Rome respecting it. Next follows the position of Queen Christina in Rome, with the support accorded to her by the pope. "The queen, who had lived with that prodigality which impoverishes without deriving either pleasure or honour from its expenditure, and consisted

[1] The passage becomes clear on comparing Cicero, De natura Deorum, i. 2 (to which Grauert, Christina II, 32, draws attention). The words are: "Opiniones (de rebus divinis) cum tam variae sint tamque inter se dissidentes, alterum fieri profecto potest ut earum nulla, alterum certe non potest ut plus una vera sit." From this we see the character of Pallavicini's writing of history. He misleads purposely, though indirectly.

not in giving, but in permitting herself to be robbed, had pledged all her jewels at the time of her residence in Rome, with the hope of future remittances, on which account she had not a scudo to provide for her intended journey. But as necessity conquers shame, she was at length compelled to do herself violence, and request aid from the pope, but in a manner that should be as far as she could devise from begging; and because letters do not blush, she wrote to beg that his holiness would cause some merchant to lend her money, with a promise of entire restitution." The pope did not think it would redound much to his honour to make himself surety for the whole burden of her debts without any advantage to himself. He preferred therefore to send her through an ecclesiastic, who was in his confidence, probably Pallavicini himself, a purse of 10,000 scudi as a present, together with certain medals in gold and silver, which had been struck at the time of the queen's entry into Rome in honour of that occasion, "con escusarne la pochezza per l'angustia dell' erario." "The queen, on returning thanks, wept again and again from the mixture of feelings which arises on such occasions." Pallavicini also enters into detailed explanations with regard to the reinstatement of the Jesuits in Venice entirely in the spirit which we have already observed him to display in his history of the Council of Trent.

The fifth book is occupied by the history of the year 1657: promotions of cardinals; buildings in Santa Maria del Popolo, and Santa Maria della Pace, as also on the Piazza di S. Pietro; Queen Christina in France, and the affair of Monaldeschi, whose death is here described in the following manner:—"While Christina was residing at Fontainebleau, Ludovico, the brother of Sentinelli, and rival in the favour of his mistress of Giovanni Rinaldo Monaldeschi, a principal gentleman of these parts, conveyed to her certain information, transmitted to him, as is said, from Rome, by the aforesaid brother, which revealed proceedings of Monaldeschi, convicting him, as she thought, of breach of trust; for which cause, having first drawn a confession from his lips, she gave him but one hour to provide for his conscience by the aid of a priest, and then, a thing which would scarcely have

been permitted in Stockholm when she governed there, she caused him to be put to death by the very hand of his rival."

In the sixth book the author returns to the internal affairs of Rome. He concludes with the arrangements relating to the Prelacy, for which Alexander demanded a fixed amount from the revenues.

But even this, the most complete copy of the biography, is far from comprising the entire life of the pope.

No. 131

Paolo Casati ad Alessandro VII, sopra la regina di Suecia. [Paolo Casati to Alexander VII, respecting the queen of Sweden.] Albani Library.

Malines and Casati were the two Jesuits despatched by the general of the order to Stockholm for the conversion of the queen.

A private letter from Malines, in regard to this undertaking, will be found in the "Mémoires" of Arckenholtz, vol. iv., Appendix, No. 27.

But a much more circumstantial, and, so to say, official account of this matter, was presented by Casati to Alexander VII. It was written with his own hand, was addressed "Alla Santità di N^ro^ Signore Alessandro VII," dated from the Collegio Romano, Dec. 5, 1665, and signed, "Della S^tà^ V^ra^ umilissimo servitore ed obedientissimo figlio in Cristo Paolo Casati della Compagnia di Gesù." We have here a far more minute and satisfactory account of the particulars.

"Per ubbidire," he begins, "ai cenni di V. S^tà^, che ha desiderato una breve memoria di quello è passato nella risolutione presa dalla regina Cristina di Suecia di rinonciare il regno per rendersi cattolica, sono necessitato farmi un passo a dietro per spiegarne l'occasione, conforme alle notitie havute dalla bocca della stessa regina, alla quale mi assicura non sia per essere se non di gusto che la S^tà^ Vostra sia del tutto sinceramente informata." ["In obedience to

the wishes of your holiness for a short memorial of what passed in regard to the queen of Sweden's resolution to renounce her kingdom for the purpose of becoming Catholic, I am compelled to go back a step that I may explain the cause thereof,—*in conformity with statements received from the mouth of the queen herself:* to whom I am assured that it cannot be other than pleasing to know that your holiness is truly informed of the whole matter."]

But the notices given by this author respecting earlier times are not of much importance, since he has no acquaintance whatever with Swedish affairs; he becomes worthy of attention only when he discusses the interests of religon.

"Having acquired thus much knowledge, she began to reflect that many tenets of the Lutheran sect, in which she had been educated, could not be sustained, and beginning to examine them, she found many discrepancies. Thus she began to study matters of religion and of controversy with more diligence, and finding that the faith in which she had been brought up did not wear the appearance of truth, she applied herself with extraordinary curiosity to gain information respecting all, and to weigh the difficulties of each. In this occupation she employed the space of five years, suffering much disturbance of mind, because she could find no settled point of conviction; and judging every thing by mere human reason, she thought that many things might be simply political inventions, intended for the restriction of the common people. The arguments that any sect used against its adversary, she acquired the habit of turning against itself; thus she compared the works of Moses among the Hebrew people with the proceedings of Mahomet amongst the Arabs. From all which it resulted that she found no religion which appeared to her to be true. And I have heard her more than once accuse herself of having been too profane in desiring to investigate the most sublime mysteries of the divinity, for she did not permit one mystery of our religion to escape her examination, while she sought to give rest to her mind by the final discovery of a religion. Then, since she read every book treating on that subject, she sometimes encountered many assertions of the ancients, the gentiles, and the atheists; and although she never fell into such blindness as

to doubt the existence of God, or his unity, which she held to be greater and clearer than all else, yet she suffered her mind to be disturbed by many difficulties, of which, at various times, we discoursed largely. But, finally, she could arrive at no other conclusion, than that it was expedient to proceed in externals as others did, believing the whole to be a matter of indifference, and that it signified nothing whether she followed one religion or sect or another; it was sufficient, she thought, if she did nothing contrary to the dictates of reason, or for which, having done it, she should have cause to blush. By these principles she governed herself for a certain time, and she seemed even to have found some repose for her mind, particularly after having discovered that other persons (summoned indeed from distant lands) whom she believed to be learned and wise, were of opinions but slightly different from her own,—they being without the pale of the true Catholic religion, which they considered to be mere childishness. But the Lord God, who desired to have mercy on this queen, nor would suffer her to perish in the errors of her intellect, since she had the most perfect will and desire to know the truth, and in doing as she did, allowed herself to be guided by the light of sound reason—for she has frequently assured me that she never suffered herself to do any thing for which she ought to blush (that being her form of expression)—God, I say, began to make her perceive that when the eternal safety of the soul is in question, every other interest must give way, and that error in a matter so momentous is of eternal prejudice; accordingly, she reverted to the thought that there must be some religion, and having granted that man must have a religion, then among all that she knew in the world, none appeared to her more reasonable than the Catholic. Wherefore, reflecting more attentively upon that subject, she found that its tenets and institutions were not so absurd as the Lutheran ministers (they call them pastors) would make people believe."

As we cannot give place to the whole work, the following minute description of the first introduction of the Jesuits to the queen may be permitted to suffice.

"Departing from Hamburg, after staying two days at Rendsburg, we joined ourselves to the Senator Rosenhan,

who was returning to Sweden, and with him we proceeded as far as Roskilde, where the kings of Denmark are buried, with the exception of Saint Canute, whose head is at Ringsted. The senator then went direct to Elsinore to cross the straits, and we to Copenhagen. This acquaintance with the Senator Rosenhan was afterwards very useful to us in Stockholm, causing us to be less suspected; and the queen remarking to him one day that she did not know what to think of those two Italians, he told her that there was nothing to fear from us, that we were good people, and he always treated us with great courtesy. We had also the good fortune to be in company for some days on our journey with General Wachtmeister, grand equerry of the kingdom, who was in like manner of no small use to us; for when we arrived in Stockholm, on the 24th February, according to the old style, and I having sought on the day following to speak with Johan Holm, gentleman of the chamber to her majesty, that I might be introduced, to present the letter given to me in Rome by the father vicar-general, but not being able to find him, the said General Wachtmeister was, that evening, the occasion of her majesty's hearing that I had arrived. And the manner was this:—While the queen was at supper, two gentlemen complained that it was very cold, and the general reproached them, declaring that two Italians who had come thither in his company had shewn no such fear of the cold. The queen hearing this dispute, and inquiring the cause of their contending, heard that two Italians were come, and asked if they were musicians; but the general replying that they were two gentlemen travelling to see the country, her majesty said that she would by all means like to see them. We were immediately informed of all this, and advised to go to court on the following day: on the following morning we were accordingly conducted thither by Signor Zaccaria Grimani, a Venetian noble, who introduced us to pay our respects to Count Magnus de la Gardie, her majesty's prime minister, that through him we might obtain the honour of kissing the hand of her majesty. He received us with much courtesy, and assured us that her majesty would have much pleasure in seeing us. It was then the hour of dinner, and her majesty came out into the 'Vierkant,' when we were

directed to approach her majesty, and having kissed her hand, we made her a short compliment in Italian (for so she had commanded, although she had caused us to be informed that she would reply in French, since we understood it), suitable to the character we had assumed, and she replied with the utmost urbanity. Immediately afterwards the marshal of the court, and with him all the other gentlemen, set forward towards the hall wherein the table was laid for dinner, and I found myself immediately before the queen. She who, during the night, had thought over the matter of the two Italians, and reflecting that it was precisely the end of February, about which time it had been written to her from Rome, that we should arrive, had begun to suspect that we were the persons whom she was looking for; thus, when we were but little distant from the door, and nearly all the company had already gone out of the Vierkant, she said to me in a low voice, 'Perhaps you have letters for me?' and I, having replied without turning my head that I had, she rejoined, 'Do not mention them to any one.' While we were discoursing after dinner on the matters that had occurred, we were joined by a person, who made us various compliments in French, and then proceeded to inquire if we had letters for her majesty. I began at once to give ambiguous replies, that we were not there for business; that we had no letters of recommendation, &c., until at length he repeated in order all that in our short and fortuitous colloquy, the queen herself had said to me. I then perceived that he could not be sent by any other than herself, yet for the greater security, I asked him his name, and hearing that he was Johan Holm, I gave him the letter. The following morning, nearly two hours before the usual time for going to court, Johan Holm gave us to know that her majesty would speak with us. We went immediately, and had scarcely entered the Vierkant, where there was then no one but the officer on guard, than the queen came forth, and appeared to be surprised, either because none of the gentlemen were yet there, or because we had been the first to arrive. She put some few questions to us concerning our journey; then hearing the officer, she asked him if any of the secretaries had yet appeared. He replying that they had not, she

commanded him to go and call one of them, when he did not return for an hour. When he was gone, her majesty began to thank us in the most courteous terms for the pains we had taken in making that voyage on her account; she assured us that whatever danger might arise to us from being discovered, we should not fear, since she would not suffer that evil should befall us; she charged us to be secret, and not to confide in any one, pointing out to us by name some of those to whom she feared lest we might give our confidence in process of time. She encouraged us to hope that if she should receive satisfaction, our journey would not have been made in vain; she questioned us respecting the arrival of Father Macedo, and how we had been selected to visit her court; and related to us in what manner the departure of Father Macedo had taken place."

No. 132

Relatione della corte Romana del Caval. Corraro. 1660. [Report relating to the court of Rome, by the Cavalier Corraro.]

Very brilliant hopes had been conceived of Alexander VII. Court and state awaited their restoration from his hand; and the Church expected a renewal of the primitive discipline: even among the Protestants, there were many who were well disposed towards the new pontiff. The amazement and anger were therefore general when he began to govern precisely as his predecessors had done; the good opinion that had been entertained of him was abandoned for the most violent ill-will.

The first ambassador sent to Rome by the Venetians, after the embassy of congratulation above mentioned, was Hieronimo Giustiniano. His despatches belong to the year 1656 He died of the plague.

His successor was Anzolo Corraro, at that time podestà of Padua. He delayed his journey so long that another was already chosen in his place; but he thereupon hastened to Rome, where he remained from 1657 to 1659.

The report which he presented on returning from the papal court was by no means a favourable one. The pope and his family were loaded with censure.

A particular circumstance has meanwhile rendered it unnecessary that we should give a more minute account of this report.

This is no other than the fact, that the work produced so profound an impression as at once to have found its way into public notice.

A French translation appeared at Leyden: "Relation de la cour de Rome faite l'an 1661(o), au conseil de Pregadi, par l'excell^me^ Seigneur Angelo Corraro: chez Lorenz, 1663." This represents the Italian original most faithfully in all the passages which I have compared, and is not rare, even at the present time.

It was printed at the moment when the contentions between the Chigi and Créquy caused general attention to be directed towards Rome. The publication was both calculated and intended to inflame the public indignation against the pope. It was dedicated to Beuningen, who had not yet said "Sta sol."

No. 133

Relatione di Roma dell' eccelent^mo^ Sig^r^ Niccolò Sagredo. 1661. [Report from Rome, by Niccolò Sagredo.]

This is a report of which I have seen no authentic copy, and which is also found under the name of Anzolo Corraro.

But since no doubt can exist of the preceding report being by Corraro, whose activity in the war against the Barberini is expressly mentioned in it; while in that before us, on the contrary, the author declares his wish, that, released from his twenty-seven years' wanderings, he might now devote himself at home to the education of his children—which would by no means apply to Corraro, whose previous office had been that of podestà at Padua—so I have no hesitation in deciding that the name of Sagredo is the true one. Sagredo, as we know, had already been once sent to Rome, and afterwards to Vienna. He now went to Rome

for the second time. He was indeed one of the most frequently employed statesmen of Venice, and ultimately became doge.

This report is not nearly so severe as the last; but neither is its tone that of eulogy; it has rather the impress of dispassionate observation.

With respect to the promotion of the nephews, Sagredo remarks, that curiously enough Pope Alexander was even then constantly exclaiming against the riches of the Borghese, Barberini, and Ludovisi, although he was already taking care to neglect no opportunity for increasing the wealth of his own family.

His description of the pope runs thus: "Placid and gentle of disposition; but in matters of business neither easy to deal with, nor particularly ready of comprehension; he is by nature irresolute in questions of importance, whether from fear lest they should not succeed, or because he is unwilling to endure the fatigue of carrying them through; he fancies himself pierced by every thorn, however distant."

He thought he had done enough for the Venetians by the suppression of the two orders previously mentioned, and eventually the Candian war did not appear even to him of a very perilous character. He was much more nearly affected by the fact that Parma and Modena were supported in their claims on the Papal States by France. Neither was the Portuguese affair settled. "The absolute want of bishops in that kingdom, and the ruined state of the revenues of all the dioceses, being made manifest, not only have many clamours been occasioned, but most earnest entreaties have been made on the part of Orsini, the cardinal-protector, to the effect that this should be remedied; but the pope has never been prevailed on to do it."

Moreover we find the papacy already at variance with most of the Catholic states. There was not one which the judicial or pecuniary claims of the Curia had not utterly revolted.

Among the affairs then proceeding in Rome itself, our author chiefly specifies the architectural undertakings of Alexander. He informs us that in the general opinion, the

"Cattedra di S. Pietro," in the church of St. Peter, was greatly preferred to the Colonnades. The embellishments of the city were occasionally carried forward in a somewhat arbitrary manner. "Many streets of the city have been rendered straight by the casting down of houses and palaces; the columns and other impediments that stood before the doors of individuals have been removed; and at the instance of the Jesuits belonging to the Collegio Romano, the Piazza Colonna has been enlarged by the destruction of that most noble pile, the Salviati Palace. The projections and signs of the shops have been restricted within due limits; all works which doubtless increase the beauty of the city, yet as the weight of them falls on private purses, it cannot fail to excite many murmurs to see one's own nest thrown to the earth, and to be compelled to contribute large sums for the arrangement of streets which are of no advantage to those who thus pay for them, under the pretext that their dwellings will have a more agreeable appearance or enjoy a finer view; this is no recompense for the burdens they suffer, and the force by which they are compelled to consent to these changes."

No. 134

Relatione di Roma del K^r Pietro Basadona. 1663. [Report from Rome, by Pietro Basadona.]

In the manner of Corraro, who is even surpassed. I will give place to some few passages.

First, in relation to the dispute with France, without doubt the most important event that took place during this embassy. "With regard to the present commotions, I know that I have sufficiently extracted the marrow from the bones of that subject (dispolpate le ossa di tal materia): but I must not conceal the fact, that if the imprudent pride of the Chigi family has caused them to fall into the ditch, their ambitious blundering has miserably entangled them in it. These people persuaded themselves that Rome was the world; but the king of France has given them to know, and

that at their own cost, that they had not studied geography well. Much gossiping has caused the general feeling to be pretty well known in respect of the insolence of Cardinal Imperiale and Don Mario concerning the immunities of the French ambassador. I will not say that they were blameless, but I can positively affirm, that to their ill-will there was conjoined some fault of chance, which not unfrequently diminishes or increases the effect of human labours. This it is in part which has constituted their guilt, and now compels them to make full satisfaction to such claims as the king of France may legitimately found on the affronts that he has too certainly received in the person of his ambassador. And since I knew the truth of this matter, so did I use indefatigable efforts to cool down the rage of Créquy, and apply the balsams of negotiation to this schism, before it had extended to what was manifest ruin. But there were too many fancies in the heads of those Chigi (teste Chigiarde), and too much obstinacy, to permit their condescending to a suitable humiliation towards the king, whose bravadoes they would not believe, considering them a mere pretence, and nothing more than a little ephemeral French fever. And this went so far, that his holiness told me the Roman hearts were not to be frightened by the rhodomontade of French striplings. To which I replied, that it was sometimes more dangerous to have to do with hare-brained boys than with older and wiser heads, since the first would rush to the very edge of the precipice for the gratification of some favourite caprice; moreover, that to play with those who, if they have whims in their heads, have also armies at their side, and millions under their feet, was not a fit game for the popes, who have nothing but their two raised fingers.[1] I also represented to him, more than once, when it became obvious that the king was in earnest, that the States of the Church were but too completely ruined by the fourteen millions spent in the Barberini war; that the millions in which the treasury is indebted exceed fifty; and that, in fine, his holiness could not provide arms without ruining himself, could not fight without

[1] ["Le due dita alzate," alluding, as the reader will perceive, to the two fingers raised by the pontiff in the act of benediction.—Tr.]

destroying himself, while the enemy could ruin him even without fighting. But all these, and a hundred other powerful reasons, were equally vain, he having too much affection for his kindred to send them away, and being, besides, too much displeased about the matter of Castro. And one day when I found him in the vein, he said to me these precise words: 'Every one cries out that Castro must be given up, but no one says that Avignon ought to be restored; every one declares that the king must receive satisfaction for the affronts offered him, but no one utters a word of the compensation that should be made to ecclesiastics for the injuries they have endured; and if it were true, as it is known not to be, that Cardinal Imperiale and our brother Mario had given orders for what was done with respect to the ambassador, and that so the king might pretend to satisfaction as against those two, why should Castro be brought into the question? and then if Mario be innocent, why should we send him away from us?'"

Thus does the whole report proceed. It is filled with self-sufficient invectives, and betrays profound contempt for the whole ecclesiastical system—a tone of feeling entirely modern. The possibility of the French becoming masters of Rome was already contemplated. The reader is sometimes tempted to doubt whether such statements ever could have been ventured upon before the senate. But the improbability is greatly diminished, when we consider that the most violent attacks were just then made on the papal see from all quarters (the fiercest satires were then appearing,—"Le putanisme de Rome," for example, wherein it was directly declared that the pope must be allowed to marry for the prevention of other evils, and that the papacy might be made hereditary), and if we remember that this was the period when the credit of the Roman court began to decline in the general estimation. Our author was, upon the whole, well acquainted with the court and city. He also deserves to be heard in person with relation to the Papal States.

"It is an obvious truth, that the Ecclesiastical dominions are utterly borne down by their burdens, insomuch that many proprietors, finding it impossible to extract from their

lands sufficient to pay the public impositions, increased beyond all measure, have made necessity their counsellor, and throwing up their estates, have gone to seek the good fortune of being allowed to live in countries less rapacious. I do not speak of the duties and imposts on all things eatable, without any exception, but the personal taxes, tolls, donations, subsidies, and other extraordinary oppressions and extortions, studiously invented, are such as would excite compassion and amazement, if the terrible commissaries, whom Rome despatches into the subjected cities with supreme authority to examine, sell, carry off, and condemn, did not exceed all belief. There is never a month that these griffons and harpies, wrapped in the cloak of commissioners, are not sent flying to their different posts, either for the buildings of St. Peter, or to gather pious bequests; or else they are commissioners of the 'spoglia,' or of the archives, or of some dozens of other Roman tribunals: by which the already exhausted purses of the helpless subjects are pressed to the last coin. Accordingly, if we except Ferrara and Bologna, towards which there is some consideration used, and which are favoured by nature and art with the richest lands, and with an industrious trading community, all the other cities of Romagna, of the March, of Umbria, the Patrimony, Sabina, and the Territorio di Roma, are miserable in every respect. Nor is there to be found (oh! shame on the Roman governors) in any of these cities, the manufacture of wool or of silk, to say nothing of cloth of gold, two or three little villages of Fossombrone, Pergola, Matelica, Camerino, and Norcia, alone excepted; although from the abundance of wool and silk, every kind of profitable manufacture might be introduced. But the papal territory is as an estate leased out to tenants, and those who rent it do not think of improving, but only of how they may best press forth whatever can be extracted from the poor ill-treated soil, which, exhausted and dried up, cannot offer to the new tenant any better return than sterility. And then the papal treasury seems to be an all-devouring abyss. It was thought proper to take arms twice, as if the first error, which cost two millions, was a thing fit to be imitated.

There was some pretence of defending the state, although every consideration of prudence commanded that an accommodation should have been sought at the very first, that France might be deprived of all pretext for demanding heavier terms. By a calculation which I made of the reduction of interest on the luoghi di monte from four-and-a-half per cent. (or in our mint seven per cent.) to four, I found that at half a scudo per cent. on fifty millions of debt, the treasury would gain 250,000 scudi per annum, which at four per cent. would form a capital of six millions and a half."

No. 135

Vita di Alessandro VII. Con la descrizione delle sue adherenze e governo. 1666. [Life of Alexander VII. With a description of his adherents and government.]

This is not a biography, at least not such a biography as Pallavicini wrote; but a general description of the transactions of this pontiff, according to the impression produced by them in Rome: the author was a well-informed and, upon the whole, conscientious contemporary.

"He is in truth of a pious mind," he remarks of the pope; "religious and devout, he would fain work miracles for the preservation of Christianity. . . . But he is indolent, timid, and irresolute, and very often does ill, by doing nothing." He denounced all nepotism in the first instance, yet afterwards carried it to extremity. Financial affairs were all in the hands of the nephews—they enriched themselves greatly. The contentions with Créquy were entirely to be attributed to them. The pope retained only the management of foreign affairs for himself; and to these he did not give sufficient attention. He had literary meetings in his apartments, which occupied much time. In the evenings, Rospigliosi had audience for one short hour. Business proceeded in fact but very indifferently. The pope replied in general terms only to the different applicants; yet he had no minister to whom the parties seeking could be referred.

The conclusion is not of the most cheering character. The author sums up his relation in the following words: "Ambition, avarice, and luxury rule the palace; and yet piety, goodness, and zeal govern Alexander VII."

No. 136

Relatione di Roma di Giacomo Quirini K^r 1667 (8), 20 *Febr.*
[Giacomo Quirini's report from Rome.]

Giacomo Quirini was at the court of Rome three years and a half under Alexander VII; he was afterwards accredited for a certain time to Clement IX: his report relates to the whole of this period.

He first describes the last years of Alexander VII, not with the animosity of his predecessor, it is true, but essentially to the same purpose.

"In forty-two months during which I served Alexander VII, I perceived that he had but the name of a pope, not the exercise of the papal power; as supreme head, he thought only of securing his own tranquillity; he rejected all business with fixed determination; and the virtues by which he was so eminently distinguished as cardinal,—his readiness of mind, discrimination of judgment, promptitude in difficulties, freedom in resolve, and extraordinary facility of expression, were all entirely destroyed." He also describes the abuses of nepotism. From the building of the colonnades of St. Peter's, for which Bernini has been blamed, he predicts evil as follows: "It will depopulate the Leonine city for ever, cause the houses to be levelled, the waterworks to be increased, and the hearths to be diminished in numbers; the result of which will be malaria." He investigates the abuses of pensions, and the mode of bestowing places, with especial reference to Venice, whence the sum of 100,000 ducats was yearly sent to Rome. It is remarkable that Alexander VII on his side was greatly dissatisfied with the cardinals: he complained that they attached themselves to the party of the princes even in the affair of Castro; that they could

never aid him even by useful advice. "Si lagnava non esser dottrina e virtù sodisfacente in quei porporati, non arricordando mai ripieghi o partiti che prima lui non li sapesse." There was a universal degeneracy.

The conclave was mastered by the subserviency of Chigi to the "Squadrone volante." It was afterwards seen that Chigi had proceeded very prudently in this: to that subserviency he was indebted for the share of power accorded to him by Clement IX.

Quirini declares Clement IX to have been physically weak, and worn by various diseases, but firm, nay, obstinate in his opinions: he would sometimes prohibit his ministers from speaking again on a subject respecting which he had taken his resolution. A musician named Atto, a native of Pistoia, well known in Venice, was admitted to confidential intercourse with the pontiff. The determination of Clement to remit a portion of the taxes, Quirini considers heroic. "Mostrò eroica pietà, levando due giulj di gabella di macinato dei rubiatelli, privandosi di 2 milioni di scudi."

He next comes to the family of Clement IX, more particularly Cardinal Rospigliosi, whom he describes as follows:—

"Although the promotion took place on the day before my departure only, the abbate Rospigliosi attaining the cardinalate just as he had finished his thirty-eighth year, yet having known him at two separate times in Spain, and transacted business with him in Rome on various occasions when he was cupbearer to Cardinal Chigi, I can relate thus much to your excellencies from distinct knowledge, that the pope, speaking to me frequently during the audiences, permitted himself to allude with a just warmth to the abbate as a prudent minister, and in attributing merit and worth to him did but speak as all by common consent were doing; and in this I think it certain he is not deceived, for no nephew of a pope has ever appeared on the scene more highly informed than he, since he was always employed during the long nunciature of his uncle at the court of Spain; he was, besides, sole director in the office of secretary of state in Rome, dictating all letters and replies in the affairs of foreign princes. Then, on occasion of the troubles respecting

those most injudicious measures adopted towards the ambassador Créquy, he was first sent to S. Quirico, and afterwards to Leghorn, but rather to be the bearer of palace flatteries than to satisfy the ambassador-duke; and when that affair was finally adjusted, he was sent to France in the legation of Chigi to arrange the formalities of the treaty; whence returning to Rome with the title of internuncio, he passed into Flanders. When Pope Clement was raised to the pontificate, the hope and opinion were entertained that he would be able to conciliate all differences, at once preserving the advantages of peace and averting the perils of war; then Rospigliosi received full powers for the adjustment of all disputes between the two crowns. In these journeys and employments, as well as in his earlier days, he lavished much gold with great generosity; but having fallen grievously sick at Susa, he thought proper to squander a vast amount with extreme prodigality, insomuch that the apostolic treasury was burdened to the extent of 140,000 scudi. He is upon the whole of a character naturally melancholy; a man of few words and retired within himself. During all these years of intercourse and meetings in ante-rooms, he has evinced indifference to all, seeming to feel a cordial friendship for and confidence in none, being too reserved, rather than frank in discourse. And now, in consequence of the sufferings that he has endured, he sometimes remains fixed in a sort of mental abstraction, and halts in the business before him; then he seeks to divert his mind by visits, and mingles in the movements of the court. On this account Cardinal Azzolini now directs the office of secretary of state, signing the orders to the legations, as well as those to the nunciatures at royal courts. Up to the present time, he has been provided by the munificence of the pope with pensions to the value of 3,000 scudi, and with abbacies formerly held by the pontiff himself; he has derived 4,000 scudi from the death of Cardinal Palotta, and has 12,000 from the legation of Avignon as cardinal-padrone."

No. 137

Relatione della corte di Roma al re Chistianissimo dal S^r di Charme. 1669. [Report from Rome, presented to the king of France, by the Seigneur de Charme.]

This report has been printed both in French and Italian, yet it contains very little deserving attention, and this is, perhaps, the very reason why it was printed.

The embarrassments of the apostolic treasury are discussed here also; the little that had been accomplished by the restrictions imposed on his nephews by Clement IX is alluded to; it is affirmed that no congregation could do anything effectual, and that a general bankruptcy was to be apprehended.

The remarks of Grimani respecting the want of able men, with his observations on the uprightness of intention, but absence of energy conspicuous among the Rospigliosi, on the state of the prelacy and of the country, are here confirmed.

The author adds certain reflections, of which we perceive that many have been taken directly from Grimani.

I have myself felt a doubt whether this work proceeded from a French ambassador; but if it did, it must have been from the duke de Chaulnes, whom (in the Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne, II, p. 579) we find to have been ambassador to Rome; but in any case, it was obviously written by a contemporary who was not without good information.

No. 138

Relatione della corte di Roma del Sig^r Antonio Grimani, ambasciatore della republica di Venetia in Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX. 1670. [Report of Antonio Grimani, ambassador from the republic of Venice to the court of Rome during the pontificate of Clement IX.]

We have seen that Quirini expressed himself doubtfully with regard to the virtues of Clement IX. The experience

gained from Alexander VII had probably rendered him cautious. Grimani, on the contrary, breaks forth into unbounded praise, at least with respect to moral qualities. "In good sooth, meekness, modesty, affability, moderation, clemency, candour, and purity of conscience, are his especial gifts." He declares that he has never known a better man.

He first discusses the moderation with which Clement had endowed his nephews, yet it is obvious that in Rome there were many things said to the contrary. Grimani is even of opinion that the people of Pistoia would avenge themselves at some future time on the nephews for the unexpected neglect with which they were treated.

But amidst these conflicting statements, thus much remains certain,—that Clement adopted no effectual measures for the abolition of other abuses. Men soon exclaimed that if another Sixtus V did not appear, the pontificate would incur the danger of utter ruin.

Grimani points out the principal evils,—the sale of offices, which resulted in the absence of all able and useful men, and the ruinous financial arrangements; he also specifies the neglect of the religious orders. "The monks are now held in so much contempt, that they have desisted of their own accord from appearing at court, to save themselves from the insults of the lowest hangers-on about the palace. Bishoprics and the purple are considered to be debased when conferred on the regular clergy, and in all competitions, coarse, ignorant, and even vicious priests, will obtain the prize in preference to a learned and upright monk. The nephews have no regard for the regular clergy, because they cannot receive so much court from them as from the priests. If burdens are to be imposed, the monasteries are first thought of; if reforms are to be effected, it is not the priests who are referred to, but the monks. In fine, they deprive men of all inclination for study, all care for the defence of the Church from those false doctrines which the enemies of Rome are constantly disseminating; those enemies too increasing daily, while the number of learned and exemplary monks is as constantly diminishing; from all which the court itself may soon come

to suffer no little injury. Wherefore it is my opinion that the pontiffs would do well to take measures for the restoration of the regular clergy to their former credit, by conferring on them from time to time certain offices of dignity; and this they could the better do, from the fact that the number of monks being so great, they would be able to select from them such men as might be required. By this means, men of distinction would be led to enter the orders, whereas, nowadays, the very bankrupt traders think scorn of covering their shoulders with the robe of the monk; nor are any seen to enter the monasteries but people of the working classes." Yet unhappily, no remedy was to be expected from Clement IX,—he was too lukewarm, too easy in temper.

After this description of the pope, the ambassador proceeds to his nearest connections, and first to Cardinal Rospigliosi, of whom hopes had been entertained "quod esset redempturus Israel." He points out how and wherefore this hope had been disappointed. "There are three things, in my opinion, which cause the aforesaid cardinal to walk with leaden foot, and to be accused of mental indolence and want of application. The first is his great anxiety to do everything well, and to please all the world, a thing which can hardly be done by a man who is not absolute master. The second is, that his will is restrained and rendered uncertain by the pope, who, although he loves this nephew, nay, regards him with extraordinary affection, yet likes to do everything in his own way. Whence, Rospigliosi, fearful of having his decisions rendered null by the negation of the pontiff, and desirous, on the other hand, of contenting the applicants and parties interested, is deterred from arriving at any conclusion whatever. Thirdly, the very extent of his own capacity is injurious to him, more particularly in matters which depend on himself; for although he abounds, as is said, in those qualities required for maintaining the post of papal nephew, yet a real penury in practice results from this abundance, because he loses the greater part of the most precious hours in meditating and sifting the materials before him, and while he is pondering and labouring to choose so as not to miss the best selection,

the time flies, and the occasion for acting flies with it." Rospigliosi must, however, not be refused the justice of an admission that he did not enrich himself, "having neglected many opportunities for enriching himself, when he might have done it without scruple, and with a clear conscience." It was indeed believed that he favoured Chigi, principally to the end that he might one day become pope by his aid; but the ambassador contradicts this assertion.

The extent to which the character and habits of thought of the pope and cardinal-nephew were reflected in the inferior members of this government, is remarkable. They were not destitute of good intentions or of ability, yet, from one cause or another, they produced no effectual result. "For the current affairs of the day, the cardinal employs two ministers in particular. The one is Monsignor Augustini, a prudent man and of exemplary life; it may be said of him as of Job, 'an upright man and one that fears God' ('vir simplex et timens Deum'); but slow withal; procrastinating and irresolute, so greatly desirous, moreover, of doing well, that he will not act at all, from the fear of doing ill. With this character, he has found means to get so completely into the favour of the cardinal-padrone, that the latter extols him in all places as an oracle, and esteems him the most able minister of the court, although those who continually hear him in the congregation form a different opinion of him, holding him to be but a very ordinary kind of person, the pope also being of the same opinion. The other is Monsignor Fiani, on whom the office of secretary of the Consulta was conferred; a trust which imperatively demands the most perfect confidence on the part of the cardinal-padrone. Rospigliosi has therefore done wisely to select this man, who knows the duties of a friend, and who has all the capacity for government that can be desired; but he is almost unfitted for the exercise of his office, being very infirm, and much afflicted by gout; he therefore also protracts all business, to the extreme annoyance of the court, where he is but little liked, in part perhaps because he is reported to have a ready hand for receiving presents; but my opinion is, that this report is the mere malignity of evil speakers."

It is not necessary to repeat the further particulars given respecting the papal family, which never attained to any permanent influence. The brother of the pope, Don Camillo Rospigliosi, deserved, as our author says, to have been canonized even during his life, had that been customary. He had five sons, of whom two only require to be named here; the second, Don Tommaso, who had already turned his thoughts towards effecting improvements in the manufactures of the Papal States; and the youngest, Giambattista, "a youth of most comely aspect, and of acute and penetrating mind," who married a Pallavicini of Genoa, and founded the house of Rospigliosi. It will suffice to give a general description of the new relations in which these nephews were placed. "Among all the popes who have occupied the Vatican, there has perhaps never been seen one more prudent or moderate in his deportment towards his nephews than Clement IX, who enjoyed their society, but would never suffer himself to be ruled by them; on the contrary, the more affection he displayed for them, the more he kept them back, excluding them from all share in his more secret thoughts. And the excellence of the nephews themselves came in aid of the pope's good intention to remove from the Church the scandal so long subsisting of the delegation of almost all the authority vested in the Vatican to the nephews of the pontiffs. Wherefore, it may be said with good cause, that never have kinsmen of the pope been seen in Rome more modest, more humble, more charitable, or more disinterested than the Rospigliosi; and what is more important, all endowed with such piety and excellence, that one must be devoid of human feeling not to love them; nay, we may even affirm that the pope never loved them to the extent of their merits, since he treated them rather as strangers than as kinsmen, and never confided to them any matter of importance; and hereby he was himself rendered unhappy, because on the one hand he voluntarily deprived himself of the satisfaction so needful to princes—the relief of unbosoming himself with his own family; and, on the other hand, was prevented from unburdening his mind with his immediate attendants, who were, for the most part, untaught people, and of very slight

capacity. It is believed that the pope does not entrust the more important matters of the court to any one but Cardinal Chigi, who being crafty and dexterous, has found means to ingratiate himself most completely with the pontiff."

Then follows a description of the cardinals, and of the ambassadors residing at the court; but the persons thus described are of no great importance, and the interests treated of are too fleeting and transient to warrant our giving them any further attention.

No. 139

Relatione dello stato delle cose di Roma del mese di Sett. 1670. [Account of the state of Rome in the month of September, 1670.] Altieri Library, 9 leaves.

To the Venetian reports, and those purporting to be French, some that were Spanish are also added: the account before us was unquestionably drawn up for Spain. Allusion is made in it to another, which had been sent to the Spanish court, and the information contained in which was on that account omitted in the one before us.

Clement X: "whose disposition is most gentle, so that none present themselves at his feet to whom he would not fain do some kindness. . . . He is very economical in expenditure, and exceedingly parsimonious in giving to his kindred." Cardinal Altieri: "He does every thing himself, and is very little influenced by others. Ages have passed since a papal nephew was seen in Rome of greater weight, of higher ability, or of more integrity." We remark, that under this pontificate also, the greater part of the officials were permitted to retain their employments unchanged.

But the most important circumstance communicated by this author, is the division of the court. Chigi, Barberini, and Rospigliosi were connected in the closest intimacy with the Altieri. This league had been effected principally by the Spanish ambassador. Opposed to it stood the faction of

the "squadronisti," that is to say, the cardinals created by Innocent X, who had exercised so powerful an influence on the last papal elections, and had placed their dependents in the public offices during the last two pontificates. To this party belonged Omodei, Ottoboni, Imperiale, Borromeo, and Azzolini. Into the disputes of these two factions the queen of Sweden entered with extraordinary zeal. We know the high estimation in which she held Azzolini. In this document she is called his faithful servant. She is charged with planning a thousand intrigues to promote the views of the "squadronisti."

No. 140

Memorie per descrivere la vita di Clemente X pontefice massimo, raccolte da Carlo Cartari Orvietano, decano degli avvocati consistoriali e prefetto dell' archivio apostolico di castello S. Angelo di Roma. [Memoirs towards a life of Clement X, collected by Carlo Cartari of Orvieto, dean of the consistorial advocates, and prefect of the apostolic archives of the Castle of St. Angelo in Rome.] Altieri Library, 211 pages.

Composed immediately after the death of the pope, and completed in October, 1676. The author expressly imposes on himself the duty of avoiding all flattery and speaking only the simple truth ("da questi fogli sarà l'adulatione, mia nemica irreconciliabile, affato sbandita, alla sola verità candida e pura attenendomi"). But this work, according to the author's intention, was a collection of materials only, to be used by some future biographer.

It would at first appear as if this declaration had merely proceeded from modesty on the part of the author.

The father of the pope, old Lorenzo Altieri, with whom Cartari had been well acquainted, is most agreeably described, as a man of powerful mind and majestic deportment, but very modest withal, as was manifest from his countenance. Although only a collector of materials, our author has not abstained from subjoining a conceit, altogether in the spirit of that age, "di altrettanto bella canitie

nell' esterno ricoperto quanto di una candidezza di costumi, di una rara pietà a meraviglia dotato." [He was adorned externally by his beautiful grey hair, as intrinsically by the purity of life, and the rare piety with which he was wonderfully endowed.]

Emilio Altieri was born in 1590; received the degree of doctor in 1611; passed a certain time in study under Pamfili, who was afterwards pope, and in 1624 accompanied Lancellotti, bishop of Nola, whose Instruction is still extant, to Poland. On his return, he was appointed bishop of Camerino, in the place of his brother Giovanni Battista, who had entered the college of cardinals. It has been asserted, though Cartari has no word respecting it, that Emilio himself had even at that time been selected for the cardinalate, and would have been more cordially received than his brother, but he had the self-command to leave Rome at the decisive moment, and thus resigned the place to his elder brother. Pope Innocent X sent Emilio as nuncio to Naples, where he is said to have contributed largely towards the settlement of the commotions excited by Masaniello. Alexander VII appointed him secretary to the congregation for bishops and monastic clergy, a position which all had found to be exceedingly tiresome. It was not until his seventy-ninth year that he was effectually promoted. On the 29th November, 1669, Clement IX appointed him cardinal; but this pontiff had not even time to give him the hat: without having yet received that sign of his dignity, Altieri proceeded to the conclave, which ended by the election of himself as pope, on the 29th April, 1670. He refused this dignity for a certain time, declaring that there were persons of higher merit that might be chosen, and even naming Cardinal Brancacci; but eventually he consented to ascend the papal throne.

So far was the new pontiff advanced in years; he had not even a near relation by his side; but it was necessary that he should select a kinsman to share with him the weight of affairs.

"His holiness was in the eightieth year of his age; wherefore, on that account, and after the example of his predecessors, who, well knowing the heavy weight of the

pontificate, had esteemed it necessary for their own relief to depute some portion of it to a cardinal, with the title of general superintendent of the States of the Church, he was pleased on that same day to declare the cardinal Pauluzzo Pauluzzi degli Albertoni, his connection, to be charged with that laborious office, changing his name for that of Altieri."

Proceeding to the transactions of this pontificate, we find that the author gives his first attention to those which took place in Rome itself.

The arrival of the ambassadors from Ferrara and Bologna to proffer their allegiance; the discovery of the monument of Constantine at the foot of the steps of St. Peter's; the decoration of the bridge of St. Angelo with ten angels of Carrara marble; the building of the Altieri Palace, on which nearly 300,000 scudi were expended, which could not, however, be called a loss, because they went to the benefit of the poor; the erection of a second fountain on the Piazza di San Pietro, but which the pope did not see completed; these are the principal circumstances on which Cartari dwells. Speaking of the palace, he also describes the library: "In almost the highest part of the said palace, there was a space reserved for the library, equally noble in extent, and delightful for the charming view to be obtained from it of the city and country surrounding: here magnificent ranges of shelves are filled, by the generosity of Cardinal Altieri, with precious books in all sciences, amounting to the number of 12,000." Well do I know it,—how often have I mounted its steps! He then speaks of the fountains: "The fountain of Paul V was transported by means of wonderfully powerful machinery,—I might almost say in one piece, from the position where it formerly stood, to that where it is now to be seen, corresponding to the side entrances of the theatre; and as an accompaniment of the same, he ordered that a second should be constructed exactly similar in front of the Cesi gardens, as was done." But the most remarkable fact that he relates on this subject, is that respecting the mosaic attributed to Giotto, the "Navicella di San Pietro." It had suffered frequent change of place after the destruction of the old basilica, where it originally stood, having been removed by Paul V to the palace, by

Urban VIII into the church, and being taken by Innocent X again into the palace. Alexander VII once more found it unsuitably placed there; but despairing of effecting its removal as it was, he decided on having it taken to pieces, the small stones belonging to each figure being put into a separate bag. Under Clement X, Cardinal Barberini proposed that it should be restored after a copy taken in the pontificate of Urban VIII. It was then once more put together, and placed in the lunette over the middle entrance of the vestibule: but how this was managed we must let Cartari tell in his own words: "Perche il vano non era capace, fu detto che lasciandosi le figure nel proprio essere, potevano restringersi i spatii: come fu diligentemente eseguito." [As the recess was not large enough, it was suggested that the figures might be left in their proper form, but that the spaces between them might be lessened: and this was very diligently accomplished.] We perceive from this, that those who attribute the work in its present form to the new master, are not without some ground for their opinion.

The author at length applies himself to affairs of state; but respecting these he is very defective. He asserts that Clement X, notwithstanding his financial necessities, would never proceed to any new reductions of the "monti," from consideration to the numerous families, and still more to the many pious institutions which must suffer by such a measure: "ben considerando il danno che a tante famiglie ed in particolare a luoghi pii ne resultarebbe." He preferred to make retrenchments, and even the cardinal-nephew also proposed to resign his own emoluments as "soprantendente dello stato." The Curia still contrived to send money to Poland, then hard pressed by the Turks: 30,000 scudi at one time, at another time 16,000, and again a third sum of 70,000, were forwarded to that country. The cardinals had themselves made a special collection.

This is all I find respecting foreign affairs; but neither are those concerning the States of the Church very profoundly treated. "Some effort was made to procure the free introduction of foreign merchandise, and all exemptions from the regular customs-duties were recalled: regulations were made respecting the "officii vacabili" of the dataria, and

the proceeds of the same; the tax of the quatrino degli artisti was repealed; and it was enacted that the Romans and other nobles of the Papal States might engage in commerce without prejudice to their nobility." This is in fact all that he tells us of essential importance.

The transactions of the papacy in reference to the internal affairs of the Church are scarcely even alluded to.

No. 141

Clementis Decimi Pontificis Maximi vita. Altieri Library, 288 pages.

It was the opinion of Cartari that many would be found to write the life of Clement X, and it is to these persons that he dedicates these materials. An author did, in fact, soon appear to undertake that office; but this was a Jesuit, writing at the command of his general Oliva. He was supplied with his materials by Cardinal Pauluzzi Altieri.

This author does not mention Cartari; it is nevertheless manifest that he had his work before him. He frequently does nothing more than translate and amplify that writer.

But if Cartari was careful to avoid flattery, the Jesuit is equally careful to infuse it. He sets forth the opinion that in the year of Clement's birth, when the Tiber had produced violent inundations, this took place "quasi praesentiret imperantis urbis fluvius augendam ab exorto tum infante Romanam gloriam."

But he has also occasionally made more useful additions. He relates that characteristic anecdote of Clement's having voluntarily given way to his brother.

In subsequent chapters he also enters on the affairs of the Church. "Innumeros in callem salutis reduces illo regnante vidit Hungaria, quam catholicam, ut Francisci card[lis] Nerlii verbis utar, pene totam effecit." This is indeed a strong hyperbole, for not only was Hungary at that time far from being so nearly Catholic, but Clement X had contributed very little towards promoting even what Catholicism

there was. "Ad veram religionem in Hibernia conservandam ac propagandam solertem industriam contulit: — — plurimos in Vaticanum regressos Boemia et caetera Boemiae regna atque inter hos magnos principes, plurimos Rhaeti atque iis finitimae valles, magnam illorum vim Hollandia, majorem vidit Gallia." All this, however, is in very general terms.

While he lauds the justice and love of his subjects displayed by Clement, he excuses him for having raised contributions to support the Poles against the Turks by taxes on the clergy, and for having taken up new loans; he maintains that the pope had repealed oppressive taxes, and in their stead had laid imposts on luxuries,—foreign wines and tobacco for example: he extols the extreme moderation shewn by Clement in regard to his kindred. About the building of the Altieri Palace, there should not be too much said: people should rather remember how few estates the Altieri family had acquired: "Quam minimum in spatium contrahantur Alteriis principibus subjecta oppida et rura, cum latissime pateat aliorum ditio."

No. 142

Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di Papa Clemente X. [New government of Rome, under the pontificate of Clement X.] Barberini Library, 17 leaves.

The family connections of Pauluzzi are here discussed, with his singular elevation to the position of papal nephew.

The brother of the pontiff, and chief of the house of Altieri, had left an only daughter, and had commanded, that the husband whom she might marry should take the name of Altieri.

A nephew of Cardinal Pauluzzi married this heiress of the house of Altieri, and the two families were thus united.

All the other connections, the Gabrielli for example, who would else have been the nearest, were compelled to retire.

This government seems upon the whole to have been

less lenient, even from its commencement, than the preceding one had been, and this proceeded from the fact, that Clement IX had loaded with debts even those portions of the revenue which had previously always been reserved. The disbanding of the little army had already begun. The author is of opinion that even the trifling diminution of the taxes effected would compel the whole state to be disarmed.

Even this writer complains of the forms of administration, and of the recklessness which had then become habitual with the rulers of the Papal States. "Perceiving themselves to be detested and abhorred, they harden themselves all the more, and, drawing their hats over their eyes, they look no one in the face; but making every herb help to increase their pack, they care for nothing but their own interest, and are without a thought for the public welfare."

No. 143

Relatione dello stato presente della corte di Roma, fatta all' ecc^mo principe di Ligni, governatore di Milano, dall' ill^mo S^r Feder. Rozzoni, inviato straord^rio da S. E. alla corte appresso Clemente X. [Report on the present state of the Court of Rome, presented to the prince of Ligny, governor of Milan, by Federigo Rozzoni, ambassador extraordinary from his excellency to Clement X.] 24 leaves.

Written somewhat later than the preceding report.

The position of parties had already changed. Rospigliosi and Chigi were neglected by the reigning house, which was seeking an alliance with the Squadronisti.

The relations subsisting between the pope and Cardinal Altieri are described in the following manner:—

"The pope has no power of application whatever, partly because of his declining years, but partly also, because it is natural to him to regard his own repose, and to retire from those heavy cares which might disturb the serenity of his mind, which is solely bent on living in tranquillity. Thus he cannot be made acquainted with the proceedings of

justice, or of other political affairs relating to the court and the States of the Church. Wherefore, recourse to him avails nothing to those who are oppressed by his ministers; and to give himself a better excuse for not interfering in these matters, he frequently affects illness; but not on that account abstaining from his private 'conversazioni,' which he holds every day after dinner, playing cards, and enjoying music and singing.

"He leaves the government of the Church entirely to Cardinal Altieri, and does not meddle with it except when required to give his assent by voice or writing; in all besides, he has so completely resigned every thing to his decision, that he has frequently shewn fear of him, giving alms, granting favours, and doing other things in secret. But the appointment to benefices and bishoprics, with the selection of those who are to be raised to the purple, remains exclusively with the cardinal, who is a man of cool temper, not easily roused to anger, and even when offended, not seeking to avenge himself. He is well calculated to sustain the post he occupies, and is, in fact, determined to know and to direct all affairs, whether great or small, not of the court only, but of the whole papal dominion. This is attributed by some to a great avidity as respects his own interests, concerning which he is most vigilant, never suffering any occasion whatever to pass without making profit of it. At a fixed hour of each day, he gives audience to all the ministers of the court and their secretaries, himself imparting to them their orders and instructions,—not in general only, but also in particulars, so that the judges, and even the governor himself, are not permitted to exercise any discretion of their own in their different charges.

"The principal minister of the aforesaid cardinal, both is and has been the abbate Piccini, a man of poor capacity and inferior parentage, who was chamberlain to Clement X before his elevation. Thus, by the access that he has to the cardinal, or, as some say, by the power he has of determining his resolutions, he has got together an annual income of 12,000 scudi, and a capital of 200,000, and has filled his head with smoke as completely as he has filled his purse with gold. But the favouring gale that he has enjoyed

has ceased just now, some say from political causes, and not because his great influence has been diminished by the union of the four royal ambassadors; although the said abbate Piccini and the commissioner of the treasury, called Monsr. Zaccaria, are more intimately about the person of the cardinal than any others. But as to all this, it is merely an affair of interest, to which this cardinal desires to appear indifferent. Thus he would fain suffer the blame of that avarice with which the common opinion loads him, to fall on the shoulders of these two ministers or interpreters."

No. 144

Relatione della corte di Roma del N. H. Piero Mocenigo, che fu ambasciatore a Papa Clemente X, fatto l'anno 1675. [Report from the court of Rome, by Piero Mocenigo, late ambassador to Clement X.] 44 leaves.

Piero Mocenigo had previously been in England; he then proceeded to Rome, which presented him, more particularly from a commercial point of view, with so totally different an aspect. He was here involved in somewhat violent contentions with the house of Altieri, having assumed the office of leader to the ambassadors, whom the Curia sought to deprive of some of their immunities. We cannot wonder that he does not seem to have been much edified by what he perceived, and by all that he experienced.

He divides his report into three parts:—

I. "La qualità di quella corte, sua autorità così spirituale come temporale, con aggiunta dell' erario e delle forze." [The character of this court, its authority, as well spiritual as temporal, with additions respecting the treasury and forces.] "The whole thought of these rulers," he begins, "is absorbed by their determination not to leave their own house exposed to the persecutions and scorn that wait on poverty. Thus the pole-star of this court is private interest, and the application they affect to business and the public weal is a mere specious appearance." The result of the favour shewn to the great families now, was, that not only

the middle classes but even the inferior nobility were deprived of all advancement,—not possessing sufficient wealth to raise themselves by their own power, yet feeling too much independence of spirit to debase themselves by imitating the subserviency of the really indigent.

"This country," observes Piero Mocenigo, "is the very home of flattery; there are nevertheless many who console themselves for their disappointed hopes by slander and evil-speaking; and they propound this maxim,—he will never be mistaken who judges the worst."

The more important congregations were those of the Inquisition, of Ecclesiastical Immunities, of the Council, of the Propaganda, the Bishops and Monastic Clergy, and the Index. When the court desires to refuse any request, it refers the affair to these congregations, which cling fast to their canons and to the practice of past ages; the merest trifles are thus magnified into importance; but if the court be favourably disposed, it then takes the matter into its own hands.

It is more particularly in secular affairs that this absolute power of the court is displayed. Cardinals would never have sanctioned the declaration of war. (We may add that for a considerable time this had no longer happened.)

The condition of the country became daily worse. In the course of forty years, as the author was informed, the number of inhabitants had decreased by one-third. Where a hundred hearths had formerly been counted, there were now found no more than sixty; many houses were pulled down, although this was forbidden by the Consulta; less land was daily cultivated; marriages decreased; parents sought refuge for their children in the cloister.

He estimates the interest of the public debt—of the monti and "officii vacabili" that is—at 2,400,000 scudi; and the deficit at many hundred thousand.

II. "Il presente governo di Clemente X, sua casa, sacro collegio e corrispondenze con principi." [The present government of Clement X, his household, the sacred college, and correspondence with princes.]

Clement X.—It is true that he gave audience at stated

hours to the datary, the secretary of briefs, the secretary of state, and Cardinal Altieri, but he merely went through the formality of signing papers; disagreeable things were concealed from him,—an object to which Cardinal Altieri gave his whole attention. The ambassador affirms that the pope had no knowledge whatever of the affairs of the world,—he had never been employed as nuncio. As we know, this is false. "It is said in Rome, that the pontiff's business is to bless and to consecrate,—that of Cardinal Altieri, to reign and govern."

Cardinal Altieri: "His constitution is delicate . . . his character is ardent, impetuous, and impulsive; he is accustomed to the Roman courtesy of refusing nothing, but on the contrary, of shewing the utmost readiness of agreement, with many obliging words, on first hearing a request; but after he has considered the matter, he retracts, nay, will even deny the promise given, and display marks of anger. . . . He is elevated by slight hopes, as, on the contrary, he is depressed by unimportant fears." In these expressions, we clearly perceive the operation of personal dislike.

It is in a similar spirit that the other persons here described are treated. Laura Altieri, to whom the family owed its prosperity, was, according to our author, not content with her position in it, and for that reason was never permitted to approach the pope; but I do not fully believe this assertion.

The remarks of Mocenigo, when describing the union of the court with the Squadronisti, are less liable to suspicion,—we have already seen how the way was prepared for this. Barberini, Chigi, and Rospigliosi were now but slightly esteemed: the Squadronisti particularly insisted that the Curia should be independent of foreign courts. They had drawn the Altieri completely to their party. The author affirms that the perplexities in which the court became involved were to be attributed to them.

He enters more minutely into the detail of these embarrassments, but with the irritable manner usual with him.

According to him, the court was obliged to propitiate the emperor from time to time with spiritual presents, Agnus Dei, etc. It had so many contentions with France, that to

see the French involved in war, was a cause of rejoicing to Rome. How then could the pope negotiate a peace? Spain complained of this among other things, that bandits from Naples were received into the Roman states, and were suffered to sell there the property they had stolen. "Ma non segli danno orecchie: perche così comple alla quiete di quei confini, promessa e mantenuta dai medesimi banditi." Mocenigo declares that Rome neglected to press the Poles earnestly to the war against Turkey, merely to avoid being compelled to give aid; that it would not acknowledge the title of the czar, and therefore entered into no relations with him, although they might have derived so important an assistance from such a connection, against the hereditary enemy. "Per timor d'ingombrarsi in obligatione di rimettere e contribuire soccorsi maggiori si sono lasciate cadere le propositioni fatte da un' inviato Polacco, che l'armi del re sarebbero passate il Danubio, entrate nella Bulgaria, e promettevano di portar la guerra nelle viscere dell' imperio Ottomano." I notice this only because we learn from it that such hopes were entertained even at that time; but what the Roman court could have done towards the matter, it is not easy to perceive, more especially if the papal treasury and dominions were in the condition described above. Mocenigo says, further, that the court would not concede to the king of Portugal the patronage of his churches situate beyond the seas, nor an "indult" to the duke of Savoy for appointing to the vacant bishoprics in his own territory. These claims to ecclesiastical independence were now put forward in Tuscany also, and even in the smaller principalities.

The annexation of Castro to the treasury turned out to be a positive loss. The debts thus undertaken required 90,000 scudi for their interest; while the farmer of the revenue paid only 60,000. The people of Rome declared that it was not thus a prince should reckon.

III. "Corrispondenze colla Republica."—This was but very short, and principally in relation to personal contentions. "Impiego scabrosissimo" [a most difficult employment]. All in the same spirit.

They had already been prepared in Venice for a report

in this tone. Even before Mocenigo's return, there had appeared a "Lettera scritta a Venetia da soggetto ben informato sopra l'ambasceria (another hand has here added 'infame') del S^r Kav^r Mocenigo," wherein the little man with the great wig, who is for ever talking of England, is somewhat roughly dealt withal. He is now closeted day and night with a scribe, that he may blacken the court of Rome in his report: "a government, than which there has not been a better for the secular princes from the times of St. Peter till now,—conciliatory, moderate, and given to no cavils (senza puntiglio)."

It is certain that Mocenigo has gone too far; but we are not on that account to reject all that he has said.

Every one, after all, impresses his own opinions on the affairs that he describes. It is for the reader to see that he makes the right distinction between object and subject.

No. 145

Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma. [Treatise on the government of Rome.] MS. Rome.

This document will be found among writings relating to 1670–80, and belongs to somewhere about that time. It is as cheerless as ever were the bewailings of Sacchetti. I. "Sopra il cattivo stato de' popoli." "How they always, in every pontificate, can find means to bestow 100,000, or even 150,000 scudi on one house, but cannot make it possible to take 50,000 scudi from the burdens of the overloaded people; and the worst of all is, that they will not allow their subjects to fill their purses by seeking from lawful trade those gains which others unduly appropriate to themselves by favour of the authorities." II. "Sopra la gran povertà et il gran lusso." A mere rhetorical contrast. III. "Dell' annona e del vino." This relates principally to abuses arising from the duties and regulations respecting corn. "The ministers of the sovereign choose to play the part of merchants. Hence proceed the many bankruptcies of the true merchants, and of dealers in corn; the many

embarrassments of families and pious institutions, whose principal possessions consist of lands; hence, too, the quantity of grain left to spoil in the granaries of those who would not submit to the extortions of so detestable a traffic." IV. "De ritardamento della giustitia e de' frutti de' luoghi di monte." Even the "Depositarii de' Monti" are accused of dishonesty and arbitrary proceedings. V. "Sopra l'irreverenza nelle chiese"—it was like the behaviour in the theatre, he says. VI. "Sopra il fasto de' banchetti palatini." VII. "Sopra l'abuso del cerimoniale." The author disapproves of the frequently repeated "Sanctissimus;" it revolts him that people should dare to say, as in the procession of Corpus Christi, "Sanctissimus sanctissima portat." VIII. "Sopra l'immunità ecclesiastica." He bewails the fact that an asylum was granted to criminals in the churches. IX. "Sopra le lordure delle strade." This is a well-meant report, and is upon the whole a true description; but the views of the writer are not very profound.

No. 146

Vito del servo di Dio Papa Innocentio XI, raccolta in tre libri. [Life of the servant of God Pope Innocent XI, comprised in three books.] MS. Rome.

A very beautiful copy on 144 leaves, probably prepared for special presentation to some later pontiff.

The first book is occupied by the early life of Innocent XI. The author has not spared his labour in the search of authentic information respecting it. He denies that the pope had made a campaign in his youth: the question had been asked of his holiness himself. He affirms also, that it was Cardinal Cueva (to whom the young man had been recommended by the governor of Milan) who had directed the attention of the future pontiff to the advantages presented by the career of the Curia.

The second book comprises the earlier administrative measures of Pope Innocent, his financial arrangements, the abolition of useless offices, decrease of interest on the

monti (even as touching corporate bodies), the restriction of usury, which was carried on with particular activity in the Jewish quarter (Ghetto), and the imposition of new taxes on ecclesiastical fees. His maxim was "that he was not master, but the administrator of the things appertaining to the Holy See, and under the rigorous obligation to distribute them, not in accordance with preferences for kindred, but in conformity with the laws of justice. . . . He said of himself, that from his elevation to the cardinalate, he had begun to be poor, and as pope, he had become a beggar." The author alludes, moreover, to English affairs, and does not hesitate to say that King James desired to render all England Catholic: "Volendo ricondurre al Romano cortile i suoi sudditi, cominciò a servirsi nel ministerio di cattolici."

In the third book, the part taken by Innocent XI in the Turkish war is discussed, and his personal qualities are described. He is here presented as he really was,—energetic, impartial, and honourable. His conduct and proceedings are described with much penetration, and infinitely better than in the small work of Bonamicus, which we find in Lebret, and which is really nothing more than a hollow panegyric.

Remarkable instances are also given here of the opposition aroused by the practical measures of this pontiff. How innumerable were the objections put forward against the proposal of a bull for the abolition of nepotism. "The unthinking populace, seeing many offices in the palace suppressed, while the duties attached to them were united to those of other ministers, without considering the motives, cast reproach on the character of Innocent, as incapable of rising to his sovereign condition." This disaffection was made manifest, now in one way, and now in another.

No. 147

Memoriale del 1680 *al Papa Innocenzo XI, concernente il governo e gli aggravj.* [Memorial presented to Innocent

XI in the year 1680, concerning the government and the public burdens.] Vallicella Library.

The holy zeal of the pope, as this document assures us, was acknowledged by all, but unhappily the effect of his endeavours was a general discontent. By the reduction of the monti, many families had been ruined; the cardinals were not listened to; no favours were granted to the temporal princes; the prelates were bereaved of their hopes; the poor were deprived of alms; all Rome was one great scene of misery.

Who could believe this? Scarcely does a pope give ear to the incessant complaints respecting nepotism, and abolish the abuse, than the people demand its restoration! Therefore, says our "Memorial," after adducing certain reasons, "it is a great favour of fortune for a prince to have kinsmen who are good and capable of governing; for these, having more powerful motives for taking interest in his reputation and glory than any mere minister can have, may also give him their opinions with greater frankness and sincerity."

No. 148

Ode satirica contra Innocenzo XI. [Satirical ode against Innocent XI.] Library of Frankfurt-am-Main, MS. Glauburg, No. 31.

Writings such as those above cited observe some moderation in their expression of disapproval; but if some fault really committed, or a mere rumour, gave occasion for censure, it found a voice in the most vehement outbursts, as in the passage following:—

"Io non ritrovo ancor ne' vecchi annali
bestia peggior, che sotto hipocrisia
col sangue altrui tingesse e'l becco e l'ali.
Per altri era zelante, ma concesse
al nepote però che il gran comprasse
due scudi il rubbio e nove lo vendesse."

[I do not find a more wicked monster even in ancient annals, nor one who, clothed in hypocrisy, more deeply tinged with blood his beak and wings. He was zealously rigid with others, but nevertheless permitted his kinsmen to buy up corn at two scudi the rubbio, and to sell it again at nine.]

No. 149

Discorso sopra la soppressione del collegio de' secretarj apostolici fatta per la S^tà di N. S^re Innocenzo XI. [Discourse on the suppression of the college of apostolic secretaries decreed by Innocent XI.]

In despite of this violent opposition, Pope Innocent proceeded with his reforms. This "Discourse" describes the manner in which they were conducted in certain individual cases.

We are first made acquainted with the origin of these secretaries, whom we find from the time of the schism, and with the abuses attached to their existence. These proceeded principally from the fact that no share in the administration was connected with the office. "The possessors of these offices have not, in fact, any administrative duties or services to perform for the despatch of business; while the secretary of briefs, as well as the secretary of letters or mandates to sovereigns, being conversant with the business, are wont to be deputed at the good pleasure of the pope, and out of the limits of the college. Neither does the office bring with it an assurance of the prelacy, being conferred on laymen, for the most part incompetent, and frequently even on mere children, in the manner of those other popular offices, which are constantly on sale, and exist only for pecuniary purposes."

The rates of interest being enormous, the treasury had to pay 40,000 scudi yearly for the 200,000 which it had received. Innocent resolved to suppress the college, and appointed a congregation to estimate the claims of the shareholders.

The pope wished to pay back no more than the treasury had actually received, but the shareholders required at least

as much as would equal the current price of the offices. The congregation could not come to any decision.

Our author is of opinion that the pope was not bound to pay more than the nominal price,—he considers this to be decided by the practice of the papal see.

Other writings are to be found which treat of this subject; for example—"Stato della camera nel presente pontificato d'Innocenzo XI;" but they consist of calculations, which are not capable of being made useful in extracts.

No. 150

Scritture politiche, morali, e satiriche sopra le massime, istituto e governo della compagnia di Gesù. [Political, moral, and satirical writings on the maxims, institution, and government of the Company of Jesus.] Corsini Library.

A collection of all sorts of writings, concerning the Jesuit order; some of which, as for example a consulta of Acquaviva, are satirical and mere invention, while others are entirely in earnest, and are derived from the best sources.

The most important is "In nomine Jesu. Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Jesuiti e loro modo di governare." This of itself contains nearly 400 leaves. It was written when Noyelle was general, consequently between 1681 and 1686. It is certainly unfavourable to the order, yet we perceive in every word the evidence of profound knowledge on the part of the author, of all connected with the society from the middle of the century. He adopts the following method.

I. First, he arranges the defects, which he notices under different heads. "Di alcune loro massime." The opinion, for example, that their order is the chief and principal of all; that all their prayers are heard, and that all who die members of their company are sure of salvation. 2. "Della loro avidità et interesse." Touching their tricks for obtaining bequests, a multitude of stories of their dexterous proceedings for extracting presents from the people; of

their trafficking, and many worse things. The greater part of his attention is given to their trade, of which they found the circle too narrow, being principally Rome and the Papal States. 3. "Del loro governo." Concerning the abuse of the monarchical power,—the deposition of Nickel, see vol. ii. p. 427. 4. "Qualità proprie del governo." For example, "Flagello sordo," which means the penalties inflicted on those who were punished without having their crime properly specified; denunciation without previous warning; the superior often employed an inferior officer as inspector, which was subversive of all order. 5. "Governo in ordine ai loro convittori e scolari." Their dishonouring punishments. 6. "La moltitudine delle regole." They frequently contradicted each other,—there was no one who knew them all.

II. The author then seeks, after some repetitions as to the cause and effect of these evils, to point out some means of cure. It is remarkable that among the latter, he considers the most important of all to be the appointment of a vicar-general, which had been so often demanded, but to which the order itself would never agree. "To constitute a vicar-general for the provinces of Spain, Germany, France, and the Indies,—to subject the too plethoric body to phlebotomy,—to have fixed laws for well-defined offences."

He then reverts to his old method of enumerating the faults of the institution under various heads. A multitude of particulars are thus brought into discussion, bearing marks of a more or less assured authenticity. The most important of all is perhaps the last section, "Delle loro Indiche missioni." This is derived from the correspondence preserved in the papal archives, and is treated with great care, insomuch that each original is separately indicated. The acts of disobedience against the pope of which the Jesuits had been guilty in India are here adduced,—even so long before the times of Père Norbert.

This work is without doubt unfavourable to the Jesuits, but is at the same time extremely instructive. It unveils the defects of the institution with so shrewd a penetration that we obtain a much clearer insight into the nature of its internal economy than could otherwise have been possible,

It cannot be described as directly hostile, since it acknowledges the good existing in the order. But we are enabled to perceive from this work the heavy storms that were gathering in the depths of men's minds against the Company of Jesus.

No. 151

Relatione di Roma di Gio. Lando K^r, inviato straordinario per la ser^ma rep^ca di Venetia ad Innocentio XI, et amb^r straord^rio ad Alessandro VIII in occasione della canonizazione di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani 1691. [Report from Rome by Giovanni Lando, envoy extraordinary from the most serene republic of Venice to Innocent XI, and ambassador extraordinary to Alexander VIII, on occasion of the canonization of St. Lorenzo Giustiniani.] 17 leaves.

It is to be regretted that we have no report on the important government of Innocent XI which is worthy of the name, or from which we might gather an impartial account of the results produced by the efforts of that pontiff. The affairs of the republic were managed in the first years of Innocent's pontificate, 1678 to 1683, by Cardinal Ottoboni, a Venetian, afterwards Pope Alexander VIII, who never returned to Venice, and consequently never reported. To him succeeded Giovanni Lando, but without any proper official character. It is true that Lando, nevertheless, presented a final report, but not until after the conclave which followed the death of Alexander VIII had already assembled; moreover, his report unluckily departs from the tone usually adopted by the Venetian ambassadors.

He begins by exalting the divine right of the papacy, and laments that its rule is not universal,—nay, the number of heretics was even greater than that of the Catholics. Have not even the accursed Quietists set up their machinations and workshops in Rome? At the Roman court they would not believe that they were themselves to blame for this, and yet that was the case. They would still shew far

less regard to a man who laboured to benefit the Church by profound learning, or by the example of his holiness of life, than to the Canonists, who wrote in defence of the papal dignity. Yet their exaggerations were directly producing the effect of causing the secular princes to set themselves in opposition to the Roman court.

After having first attempted to define the limits of the spiritual and temporal power, he at length slowly approaches secular affairs. Of the condition of the territory of the Church he gives a deplorable account: "Desolated of her children, ruined in her agriculture, overwhelmed by extortions, and destitute of industry." He estimates the debts at 42,000,000. Alexander VIII had lessened the expenditure by 200,000 scudi per annum, and had thereby restored the balance between the payments and receipts. In the dataria the pope had, as it were, a vein of gold; but that money could by no means be kept in Rome; in small portions it came in, but was poured out in a full stream. Innocent XI had certainly despatched 2,000,000 scudi to Hungary in aid of the Turkish war. Of those 42.000,000 of debt, perhaps 15,000,000 had been used for the benefit of Christendom in general.

He considers still that Rome is nevertheless the common country of all; it yet formed the gathering-place of all nations, although each one came thither merely for his own interest. Of Germans and French but few were to be seen, because their promotion did not depend on the Roman court; and the Spaniards were only of the inferior classes. If each prince of Italy were also to possess the power of appointing to the ecclesiastical offices in his own dominions, the Roman court would soon fall into utter decay. But Italy, as a compensation, enjoyed all the patronage of the papacy. "Tutta la corte, tutte le dignità, tutte le cariche, tutto lo stato ecclesiastico resta tra gli Italiani." And how much was involved in the maintenance of this! Considering the insecurity of succession in all Italian houses, the safety of Italy was absolutely dependent on the union between Venice and Rome. He takes occasion to enlarge on the necessity for a good understanding between these two states. But he thinks that much might yet be conceded by Venice; the

protection extended to turbulent friars, and certain jurisdictional pretensions, were taken very ill at Rome.

Now these are all very good and useful observations, as will be at once admitted,—they indicate rectitude of intention on the part of the speaker; but those who, like ourselves, are seeking for positive information respecting the administration, cannot be satisfied with them. Of the two popes with whom he served, Lando, upon the whole a singular writer, and one who, among all the figures of speech, likes none so well as the "anacoluthon," has told us only what follows. "When I reflect on what I have heard affirmed without reserve against Innocent XI, who was accused of not giving audience, of harshness and cruelty, of being the inflexible enemy of princes, of delighting in controversy, of being irresolute and yet obstinate, of destroying bishoprics and ecclesiastical property generally: because he had suffered many years to pass without providing incumbents,—when I reflect that this pontiff was charged with having suppressed the monti, yet not relieved the state by any advantage resulting from that suppression, of having upheld the extortion, as they call it, of the annona, of being too indulgent to the Quietists, and many other things; there was no one who did not exclaim against him, and the unthinking vulgar then thought that there was nothing commendable in that pontificate, although it was most remarkable for a constant alienation of the papal kindred, and an unspotted disinterestedness, having left untouched whatever was in the treasury, save only what was used for the wars against the infidels; and so they desired a pope who, if even a little too indulgent to his own family, would also be a little so to others, and who should be endowed with such virtues as they then believed the more necessary, because they supposed them to be wanting in their pontiff. But afterwards, when I saw that Alexander VIII, having been once elected, was also maligned, and although he was all humanity, easy of access, gentle, compassionate, pliable, considerate towards princes, averse to intrigues and disputes, upright in business and contracts of all kinds, a benefactor to the state, which he relieved from imposts to the amount of 200,000 scudi, and from the vexation of the annona; who fell like

a thunderbolt on the Quietists, and silently put an end to that most troublesome affair of the right of asylum in the ambassadors' precincts; who also promoted the war against the Turks, and arranged important affairs of every kind during the very brief period of his pontificate: yet because he, on the other hand, did shew affection to his kindred; because he was more disposed to entrust important charges to them than to others; because he wished to provide for them with a certain liberality, though much less than had been exercised by many before him; and because in that respect he gave evidence of some human feeling and indulgence for his own kin, so he too was made the mark of their malignant invectives, and so continued even to his death. But these invectives were equally unjust in the one case as the other."

Finally, he refers to his own services, telling us how in the course of his official duties he had written more than 700 despatches.

Among all these, there may possibly be discovered the facts that we mainly seek here. They are to be found partly in Venice and partly in Rome.

No. 152

Confessione di Papa Alessandro VIII fatto al suo confessore il Padre Giuseppe Gesuita negli ultimi estremi della sua vita. [Confession of Alexander VIII, made to his confessor, Father Giuseppe, a Jesuit, in the last moments of his life.] MS. Rome, 21 leaves.

It is seriously affirmed by G. B. Perini, a writer of the Vatican archives, that among other papers of the time of Alexander VIII he found also the document now before us. He wrote this assertion on the 9th of April, 1796, when no one could have had any motive for slandering a pope who had already had so many successors. This little work is thus worthy of our attention, notwithstanding its ominous title. And what is it that the pope herein confesses?

He begins by declaring that since the year 1669 he had

never regularly confessed; but, assured of absolution by voices from heaven, he will now do so. And hereupon he confesses to such acts as the following:—He had made use of the permission, granted him at one time by Pope Clement, to sign papers in his stead, for making the most unwarrantable concessions; he had incited Innocent XI to take the measures adopted by that pontiff against France, and yet had secretly conspired with the French against the pope. When himself exalted to the papacy, he had knowingly and deliberately promoted unsuitable and unworthy, nay, profligate men; had thought of nothing but enriching his kindred, and had moreover permitted justice and mercy to be sold even in the very palace, with much besides of the same character.

It soon becomes obvious that no confession of a pope is to be found here; that would be a totally different matter, and would reveal particulars altogether unlike these. I believe it to be one of those lampoons of which many appeared at that time. It may, perhaps, represent an opinion then prevalent respecting Alexander, but by no means the truth. It became mingled very probably among the documents of that period, and being then found in that position by some zealous official of the archives, was received as genuine. In the Venetian archives likewise I met with some papers that were manifestly not authentic.

No. 153

Relatione di Domenico Contarini K. Roma, 1696, 5 *Luglio*. [Report by Domenico Contarini.] Venetian Archives, 18 leaves.

Contarini had already been accredited to the French and imperial courts before he was despatched to that of Rome. He was originally sent to Alexander VIII, but this pontiff was even then so ill that he could not be presented to him. His report is consequently devoted to Innocent XII.

Antonio Pignatelli, born 1615, was descended from the ducal family of Montelione, in the kingdom of Naples, and

was early admitted to the prelacy. He became vice-legate of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, and governor of Perugia, a career which in itself was certainly not to be despised, but which offered little to satisfy ambition. There were times when Pignatelli was disposed to abandon the ecclesiastical profession altogether; but he finally succeeded in obtaining a nunciature, which he believed to present the most certain path to promotion. He was nuncio to Florence, administered the Polish nunciature during a period of eight years, and then proceeded to that of Germany, which was most commonly followed by the cardinal's hat. But whether, observes Contarini, from the influence of inauspicious stars, or from disinclination towards him in the government of Clement IX, instead of being rewarded, he was recalled and despatched as bishop to Lezze, on the extreme boundaries of Naples. Under these circumstances, he was compelled to exert the whole force of his mind, and the most manly firmness; all the court was, in fact, astonished at the moderation and resigned spirit of which he gave proof. With a supernatural serenity he even returned thanks for that appointment, "because he should now no longer have to endure the heavy burden of the nunciature." Contarini understands that it was Clement IX by whom Pignatelli was banished to that bishopric, and that he was recalled by Clement X; but we are told by the Roman authors that both events took place under Clement X. Be that as it may, and whether Cardinal Altieri desired to atone for injustice committed by himself or by another, he gave Pignatelli the post of "maestro di Camera" to his uncle. Innocent XI found him in his office, and confirmed his appointment.

But his fortunes now took a sudden spring. He was made cardinal in the year 1681, immediately afterwards bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna, and archbishop of Naples. He was thought of in the conclave after the death of Innocent XI; and after that of Alexander VIII, even the French, a thing that no one had expected, declared in his favour, and voted for him,—a Neapolitan. The cause of this was that they required a mild and peaceable man. He was therefore elected, although not until after a tedious conclave of five months, by which all the cardinals were wearied out.

Innocent XII also confirmed Albani and Panciatichi, whom he found in office, as secretary of briefs and datary, although both were indebted for their fortune to his predecessor. The nomination of Spada to be secretary of state was received with universal approbation. This took place by the advice of Altieri. The nephews of Alexander VIII alone were refused confirmation in their offices: the new pontiff "laboured to imitate Pope Innocent XI, by whom he had been promoted to the cardinalate, and whose name he had assumed, seeking to make the practice of that government serve as the model of his own, but departing from the austerity and harshness which had failed to meet approval in the rule of Innocent XI." We perceive that he endeavoured to surpass his model by adding clemency to the good qualities he desired to imitate. He gave audience most readily, and owed much of his reputation to the facility of access afforded to the poor by his public audiences; and although these did not, as the applicants had hoped, insure the speedy termination of their difficulties, they yet served to restrain the violent proceedings of the superior classes. "All confessed that this public audience was a powerful check on the ministers and judges; for the means of approaching the ear of the prince were thus afforded to all, and made it easy to disclose to him things which had previously been concealed from the popes, either by the authority or the craft of those who surrounded them."

An unfortunate accident suspended the efforts of Innocent XII for a certain time, but he soon resumed the activity of his habits.

The French affair was arranged, the most important reforms were begun. The bull respecting nepotism appeared, and in this it was enacted that the benefices and Church revenues, henceforth to be conferred on a kinsman of the pope, should never exceed 12,000 scudi per annum. Innocent XII also abolished the sale of appointments so important as were those of the clerks of the chamber ("chierici di camera"), and paid back the price advanced for them,—1,016,070 scudi. "He thus deprived gold of its power, and made it once more possible for virtue to attain to the highest places." Many other reforms were already

looked for. "The pope," says Contarini, "has nothing in his thoughts but God, the poor, and the reform of abuses. He lives in the most abstemious retirement, devoting every hour to his duties, without consideration for his health. He is most blameless in his habits, and most conscientious; he is also extremely disinterested, nor does he seek to enrich his kindred; he is full of love to the poor, and is endowed with all the great qualities that could be desired for a head of the Church. Could he only act for himself on all occasions,—he would be one of the first of popes."

But these modes of proceeding were not agreeable to all. Contarini laments that Innocent had no nephews, who might have felt a personal interest in the glory of their uncle, and that too much power was left in the hands of the ministers. "Those great and resplendent virtues were seen to be obscured by the craft of the ministers, who were but too well practised in the arts of the court." They are accused of having taken measures for giving a different direction to the zeal of Innocent XII by turning his attention exclusively on the support and relief of the poor. The hospital of the Lateran was proposed. This soon engrossed all the thoughts of the pope. "Questo chiodo fermò l'ardente volontà del papa di riformare." [That nail effectually stopped the pope's eager progress in reform.]

The author is persuaded that this pontiff had saved and laid by nearly two million scudi. He is deeply impressed by the purity of his intentions, and calls him a man of the most irreproachable—nay, the most faultless character.

No. 154

Relatione di Roma di Nicolò Erizzo K^r, 1702, 29 *Ottobre*. [Report from Rome by Nicolò Erizzo.] 40 leaves.

N. Erizzo had already accompanied Piero Mocenigo on his embassy to Clement X: he was now himself ambassador. He arrived in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XII, and remained there through the earlier years of

Clement XI. The fact that he was so long acquainted with Rome gives increased value to his report.

He first treats of preceding popes, and after a few general observations comes to Innocent XI: "that holy man, who did not certainly possess distinguished merit in learning and science, but who possessed, in compensation, great knowledge of financial economy, and not only succeeded in restoring the balance between the revenues and the expenditure, but also found means to supply most liberal aid to the emperor and the Poles in their conflicts with the Turks." Neither could Alexander VIII be charged with giving the money of the treasury to his nephews, but he suffered immense losses by the failure of the house of Nerli, and many persons attributed his death to that misfortune. Innocent XII closed the abyss of nepotism; and although he did so much for the poor, lightened the public burdens, erected buildings for the court, and completed the construction of harbours, he yet left a considerable amount in the treasury. But he lived too long for the college of cardinals, whom he, on his side, did not esteem very highly. The cardinals considered that he sacrificed the interests of the Papal See, by too conciliatory a deportment towards the sovereign courts.

At length he died, 27th of September, 1700, and the cardinals threw themselves eagerly into the business of the conclave. Their intention was to elect a pope who should indemnify them for the injuries that they fancied the see had sustained. They turned their eyes, therefore, on Cardinal Marescotti, a man "of a stout heart, worthy to be a ruler, unbending in his purposes, and of immutable resolution." Erizzo calls him a great man. He was supported by the imperial and Spanish ambassadors. But a great display of zeal is frequently dangerous in the papal elections, and was fatal to Marescotti. The French, who feared to find in him a declared enemy, succeeded in excluding him. Many other candidates were then proposed, but objections were made to all; one was too violent, another too mild, a third had too many nephews; the friends of the Jesuits opposed Cardinal Noris, because he had touched them too closely in his History of Pelagianism.

The "zelanti," who were first so called on this occasion, would have willingly elected Colloredo, but the rest considered him too austere. At length, on receiving intelligence of the death of Charles II, "the cardinals," says Erizzo, "were manifestly touched by the hand of God, so that they at once cast off the influence of their passions, abandoned the hopes with which each had been flattering himself, and cast their eyes on Cardinal Albani, with that internal conviction which is the clearest evidence of a divine impulse." Cardinal Albani refused the honour, and Erizzo believes the opposition he made to have been sincere, and meant in earnest. He seemed to yield at length, more from certain scruples, and to escape from their entreaty, than of his own free will.

Erizzo then proceeds to relate the origin and describe the personal qualities of the newly elected pope.

Albani drew his origin from Urbino. When the old Francesco Maria of Urbino resolved to resign his duchy to Urban VIII, even before his death, he despatched a member of the Albani family, and one who had recommended that determination, to make the pope acquainted with his purpose. Twice was the emissary sent forth. On the first occasion Francesco repented, and recalled his ambassador. Erizzo affirms that he altered his mind the second time also, and issued a countermand; but Albani did not return in consequence on that occasion; he proceeded, on the contrary, and delivered the act of abdication to Urban VIII without delay. As a reward for this, he was nominated senator of Rome; his son became "maestro di camera" to Cardinal Barberini; and the son of this "maestro di camera" was Giovanni Francesco Albani, the pope whose election we have just described.

Giovan-Francesco Albani devoted himself to literature and to the ecclesiastical career. He was so fortunate as to have early personal intercourse with the pontiffs of the period. "Under Innocent XI," says Erizzo, "he learned to deliberate before resolving, more carefully than he was by nature inclined to do, and to persevere in what he had once determined on. Under Alexander, he adopted freer and bolder forms of negotiation; he was remarked as at

once cautious and determined, prompt and circumspect, in outward appearance, also, well disposed to every one. These acquirements he then practised under Innocent XII. That suspicious old man could not endure either his datary or his secretary of state; Albani alone had access to him, and found means to become indispensable both to the pope and the court."

Clement's first step after his election, was to inform the ambassadors that he proposed to abolish many innovations which had been suffered to glide in by his predecessors. He summoned the "governatore" to his coronation, a call that was very unwelcome, on account of the disputes existing with respect to precedency; he revoked all privileges of asylum; the ambassadors declaring that he did so only to produce an impression on the court.

The appointments which he next proceeded to make did not appear to Erizzo particularly fortunate. Clement XI surrounded himself with men of weak capacity exclusively. "His boldness in these ordinances being happily followed by success, and by the respect of the royal representatives, his holiness did not think he had need of very distinguished ministers in the palace; whence he chose Cardinal Paulucci, who had very little experience, for his secretary of state, and appointed Cardinal Sagripante datary —a man of indefatigable diligence in that office, but only remarkable as a good routine officer. Next he conferred on his kinsman, Monsignor Olivieri, the secretariat of briefs, which had been formerly conducted admirably under his own direction. In the offices nearest to his person, he placed his old friends and relations, as Monsignor Paracciani, a good lawyer; Monsignor Origo, whom he made secretary of Latin letters; and Maffei, whom he appointed confidential cupbearer;—all people of very little account, belonging to Urbino, or the neighbouring townships, and who, having seen no place but Rome, had by consequence very little knowledge of princes, and still less acquaintance with the affairs of the world in general. He does not wish to have cardinals of great ability about him, nor ministers who would be dependent on such cardinals; preferring his own authority and quiet to those counsels which he is

secured from having offered to him by the persons aforesaid, they having no practice in public affairs, and being besides at variance and jealous among themselves. Still less will he suffer his brother Don Orazio to share his counsels; this last is father of three sons of high promise, and is a man of singular modesty and integrity; but the pontiff has left him to his straitened fortunes, that he may display his own observance of the bull against nepotism, to which his holiness made attestation on the day of his enthronement, with evidence of proposing entirely to avoid the scandal of that practice, which will, nevertheless, as many believe, 'semper vetabitur et retinebitur semper.'"

The most formidable difficulties immediately presented themselves. The contentions respecting the Spanish succession soon became extremely dangerous to the court of Rome. Clement XI at first conducted himself with extraordinary weakness and vacillation. The ambassador believes his whole proceedings to have resulted from excess of cunning; he considers that when Clement proposed an Italian league to the Venetians, he did so only to the end that he might ascertain the opinions and intentions of Venice.

From these observations of politics and affairs in general, Erizzo proceeds to those of the Church, more particularly to the disputes which were continually arising between Rome and Venice. Rome, he remarks, has a two-fold character: the one sacred, in so far as the pope is the guardian of the sanctuary and of the divine law; this must be revered: the other secular, in so far as the pontiff seeks to extend his power, which has nothing in common with the practice and usage of the early centuries; against this, men should be on their guard. Erizzo is unable to control his displeasure that Venice should have been passed over on occasion of a promotion of cardinals during the last pontificate: he laments that the republic no longer possessed the power of nominating to its own bishoprics as it formerly did,—for how many poor nobles could she not in such case assist; but now Venetian subjects sought advancement by indirect paths, and had recourse to the intervention of foreign princes. Cardinal Panciatichi had introduced

into the dataria the maxim that those persons who were most independent of the sovereigns in whose dominions the diocese was situated, were precisely the persons who ought to be favoured and promoted. The ambassador further declares it an abuse that the papal nephews should have so large an interest in the ecclesiastical property of his native land; and wherefore, too, should the rank of Venetian *nobili* be so readily conferred on them? Other states, even the grand-duchy of Tuscany, had a list of the nuncios sent them, and could make choice of such as they preferred, while no such honour was enjoyed by the republic: again, the title of *Carissimo* was refused by Rome to the doge of Venice. We perceive that in addition to the old causes of contention, new subjects of dispute were continually added.

The ambassador therefore recommends his republic to give more earnest attention to Roman affairs. If a pope could no more afford so effectual an assistance as formerly, it was still in his power to do considerable injury, more especially if he were young, energetic, and economical.

No. 155

Relatione del N. U. Gio. Franc. Morosini K^r fu ambasciat re al sommo pontefice Clemente XI. 1707, 17 *Dec.* [Report of Giovanni Francesco Morosini, ambassador to Clement XI.] 36 leaves.

Morosini, the successor of Erizzo, resided at the court of Clement XI, from Jan. 1702 to Nov. 1706; during his embassy the government of that pontiff first fully displayed its peculiar character.

Morosini describes minutely the zealous manner in which the pontiff imitated his most distinguished predecessors. Even the tears with which he refused the supreme dignity were not without precedent; he performed all those external observances by which a man is supposed to give a good example. "Of a sober and well-regulated life, he is frequent in public devotions at the Scala Santa, in visits to churches,

and in the service of hospitals; he is accurate to edification in all sacred rites, and in the most solemn or most humble duties, which he fulfils even to the injury of his health. As regards self-interest also, he is equally blameless, having first advised, and afterwards executed the bull against nepotism. He confers gratuities on the poorer bishops with the utmost readiness, sustaining many pious labourers, and promoting many pious works from his own resources. In the selection of bishops, a matter of essential importance to the Church, he proceeds with all due deliberation, seeking information from the most authentic sources, and admitting but very sparingly the influence of favour. He sometimes examines the candidate himself, after the manner of the ancient popes. With respect to other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices also, he proceeds so carefully and deliberately to their distribution, that even from his own relations he exacts attention to the propriety of proving themselves possessed of the requisite learning, and of commendable morals."

Jurisdictional matters were treated by Clement XI in the same spirit; that is to say, with all the zeal which his office demanded. In some places, and on certain points, he even gained ground. The new king of Spain, for example, found himself moved to beg his permission to compel ecclesiastics to appear before the secular tribunals and to levy tithes. The king of Poland presented certain members of the high clergy before the tribunal of the pope. The viceroy of Naples, after long resistance, submitted to the papal commands at the critical moment when the Germans were advancing upon Lower Italy—"un trionfo che sarà registrato nelli annali della chiesa" [a triumph which will be registered in the annals of the Church]. Savoy and Lorraine were then attacked with all the more vigour. The pope well understood the art of seizing the most favourable moment—"studiosissimo d' ingrandire con i motivi di pietà la potenza" [being most careful to assign motives of piety for the increase of his power]. Morosini considers the whole court to be inspired by a similar spirit. They would not hear of any distinction between Church and State. The Church was every thing. Every congregation styled itself

"sacred," whatever might be the subject of its deliberations. No difference was admitted between pastors of the Church and prelates of the court; the former also were frequently excused from the duties of their office, and employed in the affairs of the state. Piety, moreover, was used as a sort of coin, indispensable to the advancement of such as sought promotion. Four of the congregations are specified as particularly worthy of attention:—1st. The Inquisition, which deserved a zealous support as the guardian of purity in doctrine; but it was an extraordinary circumstance, that the worst of all heresy was to be met with in Rome (he here alludes to Quietism); 2nd. The Propaganda; but unhappily few were to be found who would devote themselves with true earnestness of purpose to the affairs of the missions; 3rd. The Congregation for Bishops and Monastic Clergy, which exercised a much-required supervision, more particularly over the latter; and, lastly, the Congregation of Immunities, which was posted like a sentinel to watch the boundaries of the spiritual and temporal authority. Could all things have been arranged in accordance with the desires of this body, the power of the temporal sovereigns would soon have been annihilated.

Morosini now proceeds to the condition of the papal states. He repeats the complaints that had for some time been so frequent of a decline in population and the decay of agriculture. The pope would gladly have introduced improvements, as, for example, the cultivation of the Campagna; but it ended merely in splendid projects. The ambassador remarks that the spiritual dignity of the pontiff increased his temporal power. He considers the power of the Roman senate to be a mere mockery of such a name. The barons he describes as placed on a level with the lowest of the people, in respect of punishments; the pope kept them under rigorous supervision,—knowing that their position rendered them liable to be tempted to acts of violence. At length Morosini alludes to the political relations of Rome; the most important passage, which treats of the position of the pope in reference to France and the emperor,—on which all was once more at that time depending—must be given word for word. "Whether the pope

had had either hand or part in the testament of Charles II, I will not venture to decide, nor is it easy to ascertain the truth with certainty. But two facts I will mention, and only two. The one is, that this secret was made public—with what truth is not known—in a manifesto which was issued by the printing-office of Rome in the first months of my entry on the embassy, and at the time when war was waged on both sides with arms as well as letters. The other is, that the pope did not refrain from uttering public eulogies on the most Christian king for that he had refused his sanction to the partition, receiving the monarchy entire for his kinsman. Reflecting on these premises, there can be no cause for astonishment at the consequences seen to have resulted from plans so unsettled and discordant among themselves, for it is not possible that uniformity of action can ever spring from diversity of principles; yet such was manifestly the pope's obligation to evince the impartiality proper to the common father, on the one hand, and his secret inclination and engagement, entered into without sufficiently mature deliberation, as to the advantages and merits of the case, on the other. His holiness piously considered the dignity and profit that would result to religion from the exclusion of heretics from all they had usurped. He entertained a hope—suggested by his partiality to the French—that there would be no war, or that it would be waged in vain against the forces of that unconquered nation; and since it seemed probable that the monarchy would be maintained entire, he did not imagine that his anticipations would be proved erroneous, having miscalculated the Spanish subtlety, which in this case was moved by necessity rather than policy. The result made manifest those other considerations which ought to have presented themselves earlier. Then there gathered and burst that fierce tempest, raised by jealousy, envy, and interest, in the confederate powers, and urging them to combat the suspected machinations of France for universal monarchy. This still rages, and is fatal alike to friends and foes. . . . The French long succeeded in maintaining their reputation of being invincible with the pope, who, full of confidence in them, and implicitly following their counsels, was lauded by the unthinking for

proceedings which threw those of others into shade; for whereas the most serene republic in particular, observing a sincere neutrality, endured losses in the substance of its people, injuries to its dignity, and the resentment of both parties; he, on the contrary—by professing neutrality, while he threatened at the same time to break it instantly against either party that should offend him, and yet maintained a secret understanding with the French in the meanwhile—was courted by the latter, and found himself defended at no cost, and treated with respect by the Imperialists that they might not provoke him to abandon even the pretence of neutrality. His states, too, for a time, enjoyed immunity: he saw his censures respected in the midst of arms, while heretic fleets appeared in his seas without committing the slightest offence against his coasts. But the reverses sustained by France, more especially in Italy, have caused all to discern whether the eulogies aforesaid were due to his conduct or to fortune, and whether those upright and judicious suggestions repeatedly made to him by your excellencies through the medium of your ambassadors, to the effect that he should maintain a real impartiality as father of all, that so he might be a revered arbiter, to his own benefit, and that of all Christendom, increasing his troops meanwhile under good officers, the better to sustain respect against the intemperance of others, should have been rejected as counsels proved unsound, even by the experience of those who proffered them. The fruit of having preferred oblique practices and devices of economy, the worst counsellor in politics, was the suffering since, and now, of such evils as are known to all; and what is more, of not suffering without added reproach from the tribunal of fame, which is the sovereign, even of princes. He despatched—as he adduces in his defence—nuncios extraordinary for the arrangement of universal peace, without regard to the expense, and in spite of the insulting exclusion encountered at Vienna; he proposed alliances, agreements, truces, for the particular quiet of this province, but he did this only when the time had passed for doing it effectually; and after the proofs he had given of partiality in the beginning and during the progress of events had introduced a canker-worm among the best

seeds; thus, having once rendered himself suspected, his zeal was despoiled of its authority, and the principal instrument of peace was thereby reduced to impotence. It will in fact be very difficult for his holiness to clear himself from this imputation, or from that of having contributed to induce all the princes of Italy to act in accordance with his views, and in favour of whomsoever he favoured: for not only was the conduct of his feudatory Parma most notorious, but that of the house of Florence also; he was indeed restrained solely by the unvarying prudence of the most serene Republic, which at the same time gave a lesson to others; but in return for this, Venice incurred the unmerited animosity of the French, which was discharged upon her by his holiness."

No. 156

Lorenzo Tiepolo K^r Proc^r, Relatione di Roma, 1712. [Report from Rome by Lorenzo Tiepolo.] 40 leaves.

The contests existing between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions attracted increased attention every year. Tiepolo treats at once of this matter.

But he does so with unusual earnestness. The question, he says, has been designedly complicated; to disentangle these perplexities, to give the temporal sovereigns their own, and yet not to violate the reverence due to the Holy See, a man would need a double measure of the grace of God.

He first describes anew the personal qualities of Clement XI; he too expressing admiration of his zeal, learning, affability, and moderation. Yet he thinks it was possible that all these endowments were not directed towards their only true aim,—the advancement of virtue—but were warped by considerations merely human, and might therefore not secure the blessing of God. It might be that the zeal with which he devoted himself to his administrative duties was accompanied by too high an opinion of his own merits, and was excited less by the thing itself than by the applause and dignity to be derived from it. Praise could effect every thing with him. His physician, for example, took advantage

of this weakness to maintain his influence over him; it was by flattery that he was incited to uphold the honour of the Holy See. Thence it happened that he paid so little regard to the rights of temporal sovereigns and states; those of his immediate circle even ventured to speak of temporal powers in terms of so much offence, that they were neither suited to the high place of the pope, nor yet, perhaps, compatible with Christian charity.

Tiepolo proceeds from the pontiff to his ministers; whom he, like his predecessors, considers to be but little remarkable; men fit only for the occupation of subordinate offices, and not competent to conduct affairs of state. 1. Cardinal Albani. The pope had waited until after his mission to Germany before conferring on him the cardinal's hat. The court approved this nomination, hoping to find in him a means for making interest with the pope, and a channel to the ear of his holiness; but Clement XI permitted him to exercise little or no influence: "è certo che l'autorità del card[le] nipote non apparisce a quel segno che per l'ordinario s'haveva veduto in quella corte." 2. The secretary of state, Cardinal Paulucci, a thoroughly good-hearted man, but one of no great ability, and depending on the pope with a sort of awe. 3. Corradini, auditore di papa: "Learned in the law, but not equally well-informed respecting the interests of princes; holding firmly to his engagements, but amenable to reason." The only person to whom a man might safely commit himself: it was very advantageous to bring matters before him with respect to which one was decidedly in the right, but much less so if that were doubtful. Corradini was not on good terms with the nephew; it was even believed that the latter had promoted his elevation to the cardinalate for the purpose of removing him from the vicinity of the pope. 4. Orighi, secretary of the Consulta, a rival of Corradini, and on that account attaching himself closely to the cardinal-nephew: "He seems to have advanced his fortunes by address and adulation, rather than by firmness and sincerity." 5. Cardinal Sagripante, the datary, had become rich by the exercise of a rigid frugality only; was strict in the discharge of his duties, and took no part in politics. The dataria was daily

finding its income decrease; the fraudulent rapacity of that office was no longer tolerated even in Spain. Thus it followed, that those cardinals who had not learned to manage their property could no longer maintain their former splendour. "Si può dire essere un vero distintivo dell' abbadie de' cardinali il ritrovare le case in abandono e le chiese dirocate." When another papal election took place, the cardinals created by Clement XI would scarcely attach themselves very closely to Cardinal Albani, because he possessed so little influence.

And now Tiepolo proceeds to a description of political relations. His views, as we have said, are of a politico-ecclesiastical character; he discusses the dissensions between the Roman court and the temporal princes. The pope was said to have an equal love for all; but it would be more to the purpose to say that he had an equal indifference, and equally slight esteem for all.

"It is perfectly true, that if few popes have gone so far in assuming a display of superiority over the temporal powers, so we are compelled to say that few pontiffs have had so much ill-fortune as the present pope, in not being able to escape from engagements voluntarily made with princes, without a certain loss of honour. If he have any secret inclination, it is towards France, although that court is continually complaining of his partiality towards the house of Austria; and in many cases the event has certainly justified its lamentations; but these were occasioned solely by fear. With respect to that, the court of Vienna, whether by chance, or guided by its knowledge of the pontiff, made a profitable use of menaces and fears."

These general remarks conduct him eventually to further detail respecting individual states until he comes to Venice, on the affairs of which, now no longer of world-wide interest, he dwells at the greatest length.

No. 157

Relatione di Andrea Corner K^r^ ritornato dall' amb^ria^ di Roma, 1724, 25 *Luglio*. [Report presented by Andrea

Corner on returning from his embassy to Rome.] 24 leaves.

So vivid were the antipathies excited by Clement XI, in spite of the best intentions and the most blameless conduct. But in the report before us, wherein he again appears, but after his death, we find that opinions had then at least materially altered. Then every one admired him; even those who had just before been reviling him, now joined in the applause. It was now discovered that if he had sometimes promised more than he could perform, this had really proceeded from kindness of intention, which none would previously admit. It came to light that he had distributed the most liberal alms from his own private revenues, the amount of these being not less than a million scudi in the twenty years of his reign; a sum which he might, with a clear conscience, have conferred upon his own family. Corner relates that Clement IX had entreated pardon of his nephew, Cardinal Annibale, a short time before his death, for having left the house of Albani so poorly provided. "Parerà che il pontificato di Clemente sia stato effimero, quando fu de' piu lunghi." [It will be thought that the pontificate of Clement was but ephemeral, although it was one of the longest.]

The change that had been expected in the conclave took place. The whole college had been renewed, with few exceptions, under Clement XI; but, since Cardinal Albani had taken as little part in those nominations as in the administration generally, the cardinals divided according to their respective nations. Paulucci, who had been secretary of state, as we have seen, to the previous pope, was at first proposed; but the imperial ambassador, Count Althan, declared that his master would never acknowledge Paulucci as pope: this he submitted for the consideration of their eminences. Certain friends of the house of Albani had already directed their attention towards Michael Angelo Conti; and one of this party, Monsignor Riviera, was secretary to the conclave. He first spoke of the matter with Cardinal Spinola, who, after having tried the ground, and ascertained that Conti was not disliked, willingly placed

himself at the head of the party, and proposed him. Count Althan made inquiries of his court without delay, and the interests of Conti were promoted by the circumstance of his having been nuncio in Portugal, where he had won the favour of the queen, Marianna of Austria, sister of Charles VI. The Austrian court declared for Conti, and his adherents found that they might rely on the whole Austrian connection, namely on Portugal and Poland. The Spanish ambassador also made inquiries of his court, and the answer was not favourable, but it arrived too late; Innocent XIII had meanwhile been already elected (May 8, 1721).

The new pontiff possessed admirable qualifications for the spiritual as well as temporal government, but his health was extremely delicate, which caused him to be very sparing in granting audiences. As a compensation, however, one audience was found to serve in place of many, and the fact of having received one, conferred a certain importance on the recipient. Innocent XIII apprehended the question proposed with extreme readiness, and gave apposite and decisive replies. The ambassador of Malta, says Corner, will long remember how the pontiff, after a somewhat impetuous entreaty for assistance, gave him his blessing on the spot, and rang the bell for his departure. When the Portuguese ambassador required the promotion of Bicchi to the dignity of the cardinalate, Innocent at length refused to listen to him any longer, "not finding any merit in the prelate, and being wholly uninfluenced by the many causes of consideration which he might have had for a crown of which he had been the protector."

The Roman families connected with Innocent XIII, and who had hoped to be promoted by him, found themselves completely deceived; even his nephews could not obtain without difficulty the enjoyment of the 12,000 ducats annually, which had now become the usual income of a nephew.

The principal endeavours of the pope were directed towards the settlement of the disputes in relation to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but in this he was by no means universally successful. With the imperial court alone a

better understanding was effected, as might have been expected from the circumstances of the pontiff's election.

No. 158

Relatione del N. H. Pietro Capello K^r ritornato d'ambasciator di Roma, 1728, 6 *Marzo*. [Report presented by Pietro Capello on returning from his embassy to Rome.] 14 leaves.

On the 7th of March, 1724, and after a reign of little more than thirty-four months, Innocent XIII died.

Capello, who had been accredited under Innocent, agrees with his predecessor in his description of that pontiff. He considers him disposed to peace, possessed of sound judgment, deliberate and steadfast of purpose. He confirms the report, that the nomination of Dubois to the cardinalate, to which he had permitted himself to be persuaded from considerations of the power and influence wielded by this man, occasioned the pontiff to be disturbed by very painful scruples in his last moments. "His death did truly present a subject for deep moral reflection. Assailed by scruples of conscience, a worm that fails not to gnaw the mind even of a pope, he could not be prevailed on to complete the nomination of four cardinals for the vacant hats, which were of that number; and, so far as could be ascertained, he was believed to refuse his assent to the consummation of such an election by reason of his repentance at having previously decided a choice in a manner calculated to trouble his delicate conscience. So unusual an event produced fatal consequences to his house, since there was no party disposed to adhere to it after his death; but there was, nevertheless, most palpable reason for judging well of his character, for by his excellent sentiments, he had displayed a spirit equally noble and resigned."

He was followed by Benedict XIII, who was chosen on the 29th of May, 1724. Capello found him very different from his predecessor,—particularly determined and vehement respecting all ecclesiastical affairs. In the College of

Cardinals, Capello remarked but few distinguished men; no powerful faction, and no prospect of any such being formed under Benedict XIII, the rivalry already subsisting between Coscia and Fini not permitting things to go so far. There was a faction of the temporal crowns, but it had no fixed character. A great impression had been produced on the court by the fact that the duke of Savoy had, at length, attained his purposes. Capello concludes, from his having done so, that in Rome every thing might be brought about with the help of time; nothing was required but tranquillity; the zeal of the applicant must never be suffered to break forth in complaints.

Capello then goes more minutely into such interests as were peculiarly Venetian. He first repeats the assurance that Venice must assume a position of more dignity and importance in Rome. He again suggests the mode of conduct proper to be adopted towards the pope,—he should be continually conciliated by spiritual concessions, and imperceptibly brought to form an inclination for Venice. He next treats more in detail of political affairs, more especially those connected with trade. It is obvious that in the beginning of the eighteenth century the Roman state was devoting its attention very earnestly to commercial and manufacturing improvements.

The people of Dulcignote and Ragusa carried on a trade with Ancona, which was not beheld with favour by the Venetians. They were particularly active in the importation of wax, which had formerly been supplied by Venice, and which was now beginning to be prepared in the papal states.

Innocent XII had begun the building of San Michele a Ripa, which had been enlarged by Clement XI; at the time when Capello wrote, it had risen into importance by means of its wool and silk manufactures. "From the buildings of an hospital, wherein many young people were fed by charity, it was converted, by the extension of its site and the addition of numerous workshops, into a house of commerce, wherein there are now manufactories of wool and silk." The cloths of San Michele already competed with those of France, and were exported through Ancona to

Turkey and Spain. I will give the whole passage respecting this as it stands in Capello. "Into this sumptuous edifice they have introduced the manufacture of hangings, which they have carried to a degree of perfection equalling that of France or Flanders: they have also established a woollen-factory, into which the wool enters untouched, but issues thence in cloth completed in the most perfect manner. The manufacture of silk in connection with this place is carried on in many districts of the Roman territories, and that of wool is divided into various kinds, adapted to the usage of the country, that so there may be realized a ready sale and quick return of profit. All kinds of cloth for the soldiery are manufactured at San Michele, as are also the stuffs for the dress of monastic bodies, and different sorts of cloth for the crews of the galleys. These fabrics are divided into various classes, which are distributed in given quantities, the merchants being under obligation to dispose of all. Of late there has also been a commencement of manufacturing coloured cloths in the French manner, which are sent to Ancona and Sinigaglia to be exchanged for the commodities brought from Turkey. In short, the institution of San Michele is one of the grandest conceptions that could have been carried into effect by a great prince, and would certainly be the emporium of all Italy, if it were not established in a city where people concern themselves with any thing rather than trade and commerce; these great capitals being governed by a congregation of three cardinals, among whom is the secretary of state, whose attention is always occupied and diverted by the most important affairs of the state. But in spite of all this, the establishment is in a prosperous condition, and feeds thousands of labourers, its manufactures realizing a prompt return. The making of tapestry is carried on apart, because it is established for the profit of private individuals; and the great result of all these works is that most desirable one for a state, namely, that money is not sent forth to fatten foreign nations."

How extraordinary a thing it is that a Venetian should recommend his native city to take a manufacturing establishment of the popes as its model! Institutions had also been founded for intellectual culture, and these also he proposes

as examples for their imitation. "In addition to the mechanical, there are also the liberal arts, which serve for the adornment and advantage of the state. The mere name of Rome, and the fame of its ancient monuments, attract many foreign nations to its halls, more especially those beyond the Alps. Many academies have been established in the city, wherein the study of painting and sculpture flourishes no less than that of polite literature: besides that of the Capitol, which subsists under the protection of what remains of the authority exercised with so much renown in past ages by that illustrious republic, there are moreover other institutes founded and governed by foreign nations; and among these, that bearing the name of the crown of France is greatly distinguished."

It is the author's opinion that a similar academy should be established in Venice, which also possessed some of the finest monuments of antiquity. Even Bologna has been able to undertake something of the kind with great success.

Moreover, there were other tendencies of a similar character associated with those pointed out by Corner, and respecting which we obtain information from other documents.

No. 159

Osservationi della presente situatione dello stato ecclesiastico con alcuni progetti utili al governo civile ed economico per ristabilire l'erario della rev^da camera apostolica dalli passati e correnti suoi discapiti. [Observations on the present condition of the States of the Church, with certain projects, useful towards enabling the civil and financial government to repair the deficiencies of the apostolic treasury, both past and present.] MS. Rome.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the nations of the whole south of Europe arrived at the conviction that they were in a deplorable condition, and that their interests had been neglected in a manner wholly

unjustifiable: both the necessity and the desire to bring about a better state of things was universally felt. How much was written and attempted in Spain for the restoration of commerce and the finances! In the States of the Church, the "Testamento politico d'un accademico Fiorentino," Colonia, 1734, which shews the means whereby commerce, agriculture, and the revenues of the state might be improved, is still held in good esteem. And it is in fact a well-intentioned, clever work, going deeply into its subject, and full of sound observations. Nor were these aspirations for the amelioration of the general lot confined to private persons; in the collections of those times we find a multitude of projects, calculations, and plans for the same purpose, and of a character more or less official. The "Observations" before us are an essay of this kind; they were intended for Clement XII himself, and are of the same period as the "Political Testament." The author is particularly anxious to specify those disorders and abuses which most urgently demanded reform.

After dwelling for a time on the melancholy spectacle of so many assassinations continually occurring in the States of the Church, computed at a thousand yearly, even exclusive of Rome and the four legations,—the author being of opinion that the measures taken by other powers for the prevention of such crime should be inquired into,—he then comes to the finances. He estimates the yearly deficit at 120,000 scudi, and makes the proposals that follow:—1. The dismissal of officers who received large pay without even residing in their garrisons. 2. Reduction of the expenditure in the palace. 3. Administration of the dogana by the state itself, instead of farming it out; which last he condemns on the further ground that the farmers opposed all prohibitions of foreign manufacture. 4. Restriction of the influence exercised by subordinate officials, who derived an advantage from the increase of taxes. He remarks that the annona could not maintain itself, because there was so large an importation both from Turkey and the north, that the corndealer could not make head against the competition. He is above all amazed and shocked to see so much money sent out of the country for cattle, oil, and wine, all which

were possessed in superfluity at home. "What could it signify if people did pay a little more for these articles, when by this means the money, 'the life-blood of the state,' was circulating where it ought?" The holders of the monti, who drew their interests from the country without residing in it, should at least be taxed, as was done in the case of absentee feudatories in the neighbouring kingdom of Naples.

Capello regards the state of the March, where the number of inhabitants diminished yearly, as particularly deplorable. He attributes this condition principally to the heavy restrictions imposed on the exportation of corn. This was absolutely prohibited between the months of June and October, and permitted during the rest of the year only after payment of certain dues, the produce of which was but of trifling importance to the treasury, while their effect on the market was that they caused the foreign customer to seek cheaper corn elsewhere. The fair of Sinigaglia proved injurious, because it rendered the districts surrounding dependent on foreign supplies. To be convinced of this, one need only pass through Urbino, the March, and Umbria, where neither arts nor prosperity were any longer to be found, but all was in a state of profound decay.

The author conjures the pope to appoint a congregation, for the purpose of seeking escape from these evils; he recommends that the members should be few, but carefully chosen; and above all, that able and upright officials should be retained, while all others should be punished. "These," he concludes, "are the hopes cherished by the subjects of your holiness."

No. 160

Provedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico. [Precautionary and remedial measures for the Papal States.] MS. Rome. Autograph instructions for public officials.

We have here a further proof that in these dominions also there were plans formed for the introduction of the

mercantile system, which was at that time so greatly approved in Europe; and if these had been vigorously acted on, a certain impulse might perhaps have been imparted to the commerce of the country. But the misfortune of the Roman administration was, that each succeeding pontiff was anxious to adopt measures directly opposed to what had been thought good by his predecessor. We have an example of this in the document before us.

In the year 1719 the importation of foreign cloths from Venice, Naples, and more than all from Germany, had increased to such an extent that Clement XI considered it necessary to prohibit it altogether. We find the two decrees to that effect, of August 7, 1719, and August 1, 1720, alluded to in Vergani, "della importanza del nuovo sistema di finanza." But when Vergani denies that they did any good, he is doubtless in error. Even in the year 1728, the impulse received by the industry of the Roman states is remarked on by Pietro Capello. In our "Provedimento," which was composed under Clement XII, it is expressly affirmed that manufactures had shewn an immediate increase, the direct consequence of that very prohibition. Innocent XIII and Benedict XIII confirmed it. "In a few years new manufactories for woollens, etc. were erected at the cost of private individuals in many towns and districts of the state, together with fulling-mills, dye-houses, and other buildings, more particularly in Rome, Narni, Perugia, etc."

But in the year 1735, a congregation appointed by Clement XII thought it best to remove this prohibition, and to permit the importation of cloth, at a duty of 12 per cent. in the provinces, and 20 in Rome. The consequence was,—at least as the document before us affirms,—that the manufactories so lately established went to ruin. The author calculates that 100,000 scudi were sent out of the country for cloths; he desires a renewal of the prohibition, and would have it extended to silk goods; but I do not find that his representations produced any effect.

No. 161

Altri provedimenti di commercio. [Further commercial regulations.] MS. Rome.

This document presents a confirmation of the remark that the Roman manufactures had received a momentary impulse from the above-mentioned prohibition, and renews the old complaints against the prohibition of exports. There were so many things brought from Tuscany: but if any one were to export but a measure of corn, he would be punished by confiscation of his property, excommunication,—nay, even the loss of life. An extreme confusion of the currency had moreover taken place in the States of the Church, just as it had in Germany. The papal coin was too heavy, although Innocent XI and Clement XI had already issued some that was lighter. A quantity of foreign money, on which great loss was suffered, obtained currency. The pope was pressed to coin money of a lighter sort on his part also, as he had already begun to do in respect of the zecchins.

Many other documents of a similar import lie before us; but to make extracts from all would lead us too far into detail. It must suffice to remark, that in the Roman states also, the commercial and economic tendencies prevailing in the rest of Europe had found acceptance, although they were prevented from producing their due effect by peculiar circumstances,—the constitution of the papal state, and its ineradicable abuses. They were besides opposed by the listless habits of the aristocracy, the pleasures they found in a life of mere enjoyment—without any other object—the delights of doing nothing. The German, Winckelmann, was enchanted on arriving in Italy soon after this period. The habits of life prevailing there were to him as a deliverance from the restless activity and rigid subordination to rule, of his native regions; and the man of learning was right, so far as he was himself concerned; he had need of leisure, and of a place where the importance

of his favourite studies was acknowledged; he required to breathe a freer air, and these were things that for the moment and for private life might be fairly placed in the balance. But a nation can become prosperous and powerful only by the exercise of its most strenuous efforts, steadily put forth on all sides.

No. 162

Relatione 28 *Novembre* 1737 *del N. U. Aluise Mocenigo IV K^r e Proc^r ritornato di Roma.* [Report presented on his return from the Roman embassy by Aluise Mocenigo IV.] Venetian Archives.

We are here made acquainted with the impediments presented by the Roman government to the prosperity of its subjects. Mocenigo is by no means addicted to cavilling, he acknowledges the increase of trade in Ancona, and even considers it a subject of some anxiety for Venice: he admits the administration of justice also to be in a sound condition, more especially in the Rota, but he declares the general government to be corrupt from the very foundation: breach of trust and dishonesty were the order of the day—the expenditure exceeded the income, and there was no prospect of a remedy. Pope Clement had betaken himself to the expedient of lotteries; but Mocenigo declares them to be pernicious in the highest degree,—"l'evidente esterminio e ruina de' popoli."

The ambassador considers Pope Clement XII to have been more distinguished by the qualities of a gentleman and magnificent prelate, than by the talent and power required for sustaining the ponderous burden of the papacy. He describes the pontiff and his government in the following few outlines only:—

"The present pontificate is principally favourable to such undertakings as present an aspect of nobility and magnificence, these having been ever the inclination of the pope from his youth up,—a taste which is still maintained in his declining and decrepit age by the character and influence of his nephew, Cardinal Corsini, who is more

distinguished by his love of the fine arts, and by his courteous mode of transacting business, than by any real efficiency in the affairs of government. The course of events in the declining pontificate—during which his eminence has for the most part conducted the government—renders clear testimony to this fact, and it may be affirmed that the violent contentions entered into with almost all the courts must have totally overwhelmed the cardinal, had he not been sustained by the credit acquired by his disinterestedness of character, and from its being known that his failures are attributable to want of talent, rather than to evil intentions. It is true that Rome does not excuse him for the determination with which he insists on disposing of all political affairs, and his extreme jealousy of his authority; for this has induced him to remove Cardinal Riviera from the ministry, although he was the most able of the ministers, and to substitute Cardinal Firau in his place, that he may control all things as he pleases and suffer no contradiction. As respects other matters, however, whether it be from inclination or virtue, certain it is, that throughout the pontificate of Clement XII, and after having had the absolute disposal of the pontifical treasures for seven years, the house of Corsini has not increased its patrimonial revenues by 8000 scudi yearly,—a very rare example."

But the nephew of the pope had once more extensive power, though he did not enrich himself; the secretary of state was entirely dependent on him, and no one could venture to confide in the expressions of the latter, if he were not sure of the nephew.

From domestic affairs Mocenigo proceeds to the relations with foreign courts, which, as before remarked, became daily more difficult. I extract the following passage entire, on account of its importance to the history of the contentions arising from ecclesiastical rights :—

"The court of Naples labours continually for the abolition of the accustomed investiture, availing itself of all arguments, legal, historical, and natural; nor would its success be improbable, if King Charles would consent to a solemn renunciation of all his claims to Castro and Ronciglione. But this is not all; for the Neapolitans, led

on by the arguments of their law-schools, are so profoundly inimical to the court of Rome, that they seek by every means to withdraw from their dependence on the pope in all temporal matters; thus new regulations are daily made, and new pretensions constantly put forward, all so well sustained by their able writers, that the Roman court is more than ever embarrassed, and has already been compelled to relinquish a large part, that it may keep the rest in safety. The point of the matter is, that these reforms tend principally to enrich the royal treasury, and thereby to diminish the pontifical revenues and authority in those states. Father Galliani, a man of profound learning and ability, is the great advocate of the court of Naples in Rome, and is the more efficient, from the fact that, during his long practical acquaintance with the Roman metropolis, he has penetrated the mysteries of the papacy to the very bottom, and possessing a most felicitous memory, he is enabled to use all his acquirements at the most useful moment.

"The great support of the Neapolitan court is that of Spain, where the irritation appears of late to have risen to excess, and to have given occasion for those noisy demands of reform in the dataria, and for the restoration of the royal right of patronage, concerning which I have frequently had the honour of writing to your serenity in my respectful despatches; these are now set at rest, but by an arrangement more favourable to the court of Spain than to that of Rome.

"The court of Turin, holding a steady course of policy, and protected by the bulls and concessions of Benedict XIII, has never suffered itself to depart for a moment from those essential principles which have now been shaken and too lightly assailed under the present pontificate. Cardinal Albani, a man who has not his equal for sagacity and resolution, has hitherto maintained the cause of that court with the utmost efficiency, and that with such effect that he has never suffered the menaces of the present pontiff to be carried into execution, and is likely to proceed quite as prosperously with his successor.

"The court of France has also found some cause of

quarrel in the affairs of Poland; but they were of so little moment, that the French court may be still considered the only one well disposed and firmly attached to the present pontificate; and that because in regard to ecclesiastical affairs, France has little or nothing left to discuss with Rome, both parties steadfastly adhering to the concordats and the pragmatic sanction; or chiefly, perhaps, because Rome proceeds more cautiously towards France than towards other countries, with respect to the introduction, maintenance, or opposition of any innovations that may present themselves. Cardinal Fleury, who is ever to be extolled as the grand exemplar of profound statesmanship, has always found means to hold political relations in subjection to those of religion, without ever permitting the spiritual authority to be confounded with the temporal power, and this has caused the court of Rome constantly to confine herself within her due limits throughout all his ministry,—nay, she has displayed so much condescension towards him, that she would have constituted him the arbiter of all her differences, if the other potentates had not dreaded the perfect equity and impartiality of that great master in statesmanship.

"There were very serious embarrassments, and they are not yet entirely adjusted with the court of Portugal, where the character of the king gives increased vigour and intensity to his pretensions in proportion as they are resisted; and to speak in plain words, the dissensions of the papal state with Portugal and Spain, having suspended for some time past the rich revenues derived from those vast kingdoms, have almost broken up the court and city of Rome, where thousands of families have been reduced of late years from opulence to poverty, and an equal number from a sufficiency to absolute want. The consequence of this is, that the disposal of a large number of benefices in Spain, Portugal, and the kingdom of Naples remains suspended; and since there is a probability that the patronage of these livings will be ultimately vested in the temporal authority under those sovereigns, very many of their subjects, both of the secular and regular clergy, formerly contributing to the maintenance of the Roman court, now abandon it; besides that not a few of the Romans themselves are

induced to cultivate the favour of those foreign powers, either by their avarice or their necessities. The conduct of the court of Rome with respect to the claim of that prince to have the cardinal, his son, made patriarch of Lisbon, has been very singular and curious. It was considered by the king to be an indispensable condition to the arrangement of the questions pending between the two courts, that this distinction should be conferred; and the pope, proceeding in this respect according to the wonted Roman fashion, appeared sometimes almost eager to comply with the wishes of the king, while at other times he seemed altogether averse to the proposal. The matter is not yet decided, and in whatever manner it shall be settled, is certain to present argument for no small discussion, and even, perhaps, for contentions among the other sovereigns.

"The pretender was formerly an object of extreme interest to the court of Rome, which flattered itself with the hope of obtaining support from the French and Spanish courts, since both were united in the house of Bourbon; but now that the jealousy existing between the elder line and the younger branch has become manifest, and since it has been made evident that the queen of Spain has in truth no other interest in view than the aggrandizement of her two sons, the exiled pretender and his deserving family have at once become objects of anxiety, rather than of hope, to many in Rome.

"The emperor has caused the present ministry at Rome to tremble; nay, does so still, because it is seen that he has himself set the example of introducing into his Italian states such reforms of abuses as must in time present an example extremely prejudicial to the Romans; but what is still more serious for them, he had scarcely sent his troops into Tuscany before similar measures were entered on there, so that among all the states beyond the dominion of Rome, there is not one which continues to walk blindly in the footsteps of past ages. The court of Vienna, having some time since made the distinctions conferred on the Spaniards, who are little loved by the Roman people, a decided ground of quarrel, has thus completely gained to itself the favour of the Romans, both in the city and state; and this has been maintained

by most sagacious proceedings on the part of the imperial ministers and emissaries, so that we have the marvellous state of things, of the whole Roman people declaring in favour of the emperor. The interest of the Corsini is, nevertheless, so strong in the present day, that no sacrifice is refused that can help to gain the friendship of the emperor; a fact of which the most excellent senate has abundant proofs in the direction of affairs now in progress."

No. 163

Relatione del N. H. Franc. Venier K^r ritornato ambasciator di Roma, 1744, 24 *Apr.* [Report presented by Francesco Venier on his return from the Roman embassy.]

This is unfortunately only two loose leaves relating to Benedict XIV.

Venier assures us that the cardinals would never have elected this pope of themselves. "He was exalted rather by his own rare virtues, by the peculiar events of that conclave, and by its extraordinary protraction, than by any actual desire on the part of the cardinals who elected him. It was the work of the Holy Spirit alone."

"The pontiff," he proceeds to remark, "endowed with a sincere and upright mind, would never practise any of those arts which are called 'Romanesque:' the same open character which he displayed without reserve as prelate, he continued to exhibit as Cardinal Lambertini, and may be safely said to have shewn no other as pope."

No. 164

Relatione di Aluise Mocenigo IV Kav^r ritornato ambasciator di Roma, 1750, 14 *Apr.* [Report presented by Aluise Mocenigo IV on his return from the Roman embassy.]

This ambassador is not the "Aluise Mocenigo IV," whose report of 1737 we have given above (*see* No. 162),

The first was a son of Aluise Mocenigo III; the present ambassador is a son of Aluise Mocenigo I.

Unfortunately he also has contented himself with three leaves. In the absence of any large amount of authentic intelligence, relating to the Roman court at this period, I will give the most important passages entire.

"The reigning pontiff, Benedict XIV, has not only been employed in no nunciature to any court, but he has never been even charged with any legation. He was raised to the rank of cardinal when bishop of Ancona, and was elevated to the supreme station which he now holds when archbishop of Bologna. He is well versed, by long practice from his earliest years, in the affairs of the Curia, and is certainly not unmindful of that advantage; besides which he piques himself on being a profound canonist and finished lawyer; nor does he consider himself inferior as a decretalist, his studies in which department he does not neglect even to the present day. He is very partial to his auditor Monsignor Argivilliers, for this cause, that he also pursues the same course of learning. This conformity of dispositions between the pope and his auditor renders the latter a man of importance in this pontificate; for whereas in his official duties, which are restricted to civil inspections only, he would enjoy no other advantage than that of daily access to the sovereign, he is now admitted to give his opinion respecting affairs of state. To say the truth, he is a man of probity, but of no experience in the affairs of foreign courts; he is austere and inaccessible, reserved in general intercourse, not only with strangers, but even with the members of the Curia themselves. By the extraordinary favour shewn to him, he seems to dispute with Cardinal Valenti, the secretary of state, those advantages of access to the pope, which the high qualities of that prelate, whenever he is pleased to demand them, must always obtain for him, and which belong to him on all occasions of great importance or difficulty. But I am falling into prolixity and needless repetition; for my most excellent predecessors will have told you all that was required, concerning this eminent person, so profoundly versed in affairs of state and policy, a minister of so much prudence

and experience, and of manners so courteous; nor have I any thing to add respecting him, except that the office of chamberlain of the Holy Church has been conferred on him by his holiness during my embassy. That very honourable and lucrative charge has indeed been confirmed to Cardinal Valenti, even after the death of the pontiff, and this will cause him to be still necessary and sought after, even though jealousy, envy, and ill-will should seek to employ their strength against him, when he no longer holds the office of secretary of state. He is for the present exempt from these assailants, not because he is guarded on all sides, so much as because he is ever prepared to confront them and to parry every blow: if he think the matter deserving of notice, he joins combat; if otherwise, he lets it pass. In addition to the above-mentioned auditor of the pope, there is also the datary, Monsignor Millo, no great friend of Valenti; for although in my time there was an appearance of reconciliation between them, yet there was no reality in their friendship, and the said datary is rather of the party of the auditor. These three persons may be said to be all who have any real participation in state affairs, or who understand them; but if the two prelates are accepted for the reasons aforesaid, and the cardinal manages to make himself necessary for many well-known causes, there are, nevertheless, occasions on which the pope, though hearing them all, will afterwards decide after his own manner, and contrary to their counsels. And further, if there be other very distinguished men among the members of the Curia, they have no great influence in the present pontificate, at least in relation to the principal affairs of state. One is Cardinal Passionei, a man of most studious habits, and attached to science; he is a minister of experience, having held many nunciatures, yet he is only employed as secretary of briefs. Among the chief favourites of the pope is Cardinal Girolamo, promaggiorduomo, and uncle of the young prelate, Monsignor Marcantonio Colonna, maggiorduomo; but he gives himself no trouble respecting any thing that does not affect his own particular wishes. The secretary of accounts, Monsignor Antonio Rota, is known to the pope, to the sacred college at large, and above all to the congregations 'coram

sanctissimo,' as a man of the most refined policy and most subtle powers of thought, than whom no better could be found when the adjustment of some foreign difficulty is demanded, or some trait of sagacity is required; but although his utility is so well understood that he is admitted into all congregations and appears in despite of his gout, yet he has no more important matter confided to his control than those of his office, or casual business."

No. 165

Girolamo Zulian, Relatione di Roma, 15 *Decembre,* 1783.
[Report from Rome by Girolamo Zulian.]

Towards the close of the republic, there was seen to be a falling off in the disposition which had formerly existed towards this kind of political activity.

The reports become shorter. The observations they present are not to be compared with those of the older writers for penetration and comprehensiveness.

Zulian, whose report is the last that I have seen, no longer discusses questions of policy, of foreign affairs, or the personal qualities of the pontiff Pius VI. He confines himself entirely to certain leading features of the internal administration.

He informs us that the papal treasury exhibited a considerable deficit, which was further increased by the extraordinary expenditure, the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's, and the labours proceeding in the Pontine marshes, which together had perhaps already cost two millions. Attempts were made to meet this deficiency by anticipation of the revenue, and by the creation of a paper currency. There was, besides, much money sent out of the country. "The hemp, silks, and woollens exported from the state do not compensate for the salt-fish, lead, drugs, and great variety of manufactures imported, more particularly from Germany and France. The principal means of balancing the commerce of the nation ought to be the corn-trade; but the necessity for regulating it by artificial

arrangements, that Rome may always be assured of a supply of corn at low prices, renders that trade a poor and often losing one. From these causes agriculture is depressed, and there often happen dearths of such a kind as to make it needful that corn should be purchased at high prices from foreign countries. It is thus the general opinion that this trade, upon the whole, produces very little profit to the nation. The state is in debt to almost every country with which it is connected; to which must in great measure be attributed the rapid outpouring of money which depresses its credit, causes its bills to be always at a discount, and causes its extreme poverty. It is the common belief that Rome is more profitably connected with the exchange of Venice than with any other, on account of the various kinds of merchandise which the pontifical states furnish to those of your serenity"

The measures adopted for the relief of the country by Pius VI are well known. They are discussed in this report, but with no very great depth of thought.

Zulian remarks that Pius VI had rendered the cardinals yet more insignificant than they previously were. On the return of the pontiff from Vienna, he had put off the sacred college with obscure and insufficient information. It is true that he may be said to have had but very little to relate; but the fact remains. The secretary of state, Pallavicini, an excellent and distinguished man, was incapable of effecting much in the way of business, because he was continually out of health. The author is of opinion that Rezzonico was the person whose influence was most powerful with the pontiff.

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